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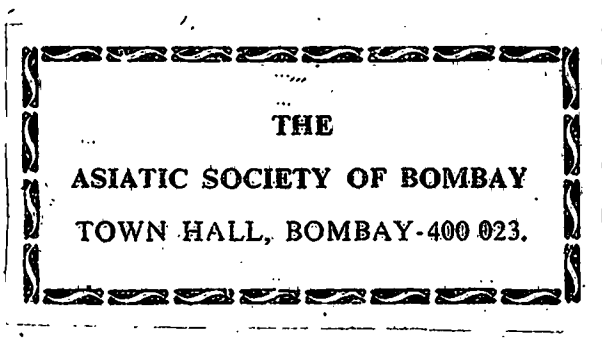

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A LETTER

TO

THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL,

ON THE

SUBJECT OF THE GREEKS.

27272

BY

THOMAS LORD ERSKINE.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1822.

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London: Printed by C. Roworth,
Bell-yard, Temple-bar

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE following Letter to the Earl of Liverpool was written a very short time ago, on the spur of the occasion stated in the 35th page, viz. the near approach of the Continental Congress, "*when the subject of the Greeks could not but come under consideration.*" This was my object, but it was indistinctly expressed: from a sensibility which every man capable of feeling for the Greeks, or for human beings of any description, cannot but approve.—My principal reason for writing and publishing it, AT THAT PARTICULAR MOMENT, was, because I knew of course that our government was to be immediately re-

presented in its foreign relations by a new Secretary of State.

It cannot now be any possible disrespect to the memory of the late lamented Lord Londonderry, to call to mind, that he had been for a long time the official organ of our affairs abroad, acting, I have no doubt, to the best of his judgment, whilst the Greeks had not only been abandoned to the fury of their oppressors, but whilst our Ambassador was permitted to remain at Constantinople amidst the unexampled barbarities hourly committed, under the infamous dominion of the Ottoman Porte; and I could not therefore but think it CRITICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS to any effort for their protection, that our communications with other governments, and with the Porte itself, were in future to be conducted by a new minister, which gave the chance at least that he might differ from his predecessor upon the subject of the Greeks.

There are occasions (and I thought this one of them) when any sudden change in the policy of a state, which it was my desire in the present

instance to promote, could not be so well effected but through a concomitant change in official representation.

The application of this observation a very few words will explain.

It is to be lamented, because it presents the only embarrassment I can foresee, in the fulfilment of a most imperious duty, that we did not *instantly* withdraw our Ambassador from Constantinople, whilst *authorized* massacres and barbarous desolations surrounded him. The Porte indeed seemed to be playing the game of the Greeks into our very hands by such unexampled and appalling crimes; because after our having so long considered her as a legitimate government, and connected ourselves with her as such by existing treaties, (*acts to be lamented also,*) it required *some strong and unexceptionable cause of complaint against her,* to justify our suddenly rejecting her alliance and our interference in her internal concerns.—THIS CAUSE OF COMPLAINT SHE ABUNDANTLY AND UNDENIABLY FURNISHED, by her monstrous atrocities, and it was, in

my opinion, therefore, the grossest impolicy to pass them by, instead of declaring them at once to be the termination of all amicable relations.

This cannot be better illustrated than by supposing *the same* Minister for our foreign affairs to be still in office, and that on his being *now* directed to denounce these atrocities, he were thus to be replied to by the Sultan and his Divan.

"*When did you, Sir, for it is only through* YOU *that we know any thing of your most Christian government—When did* YOU *make the discovery, that we were not to be regarded as a nation worthy of friendship and alliance, because we resisted and punished the rebellion of our own subjects? You did not tell us* AT THE TIME, *that by our retaliation at Scio for the destruction of our own people by the Greeks, or by our taking satisfaction for violated securities by the execution of hostages,* THAT WE WERE PUTTING OURSELVES OUT OF THE PALE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD."

Not to lengthen this into the anticipation of

such a kind of correspondence *with the same individual*, which *now* can never take place, it justifies my expressing satisfaction, *that as far as relates to the subject of the Greeks*, the representation has been changed. *This*, indeed, is the limitation of all my observations. With any other arrangements of the Administration *I meddle not at all.**

It is most important also, if we intend to depart from the course we have hitherto pursued, that we are to be differently represented at the approaching Congress. Were I to be asked how I reconcile *our appearing there at all*, with the objections I have expressed to the principles and views of the confederated governments, I should answer, that it was by no consent of mine we were *formerly* connected in any manner with

* The United States are under no such embarrassment.—They have no Ambassador at Constantinople, nor ever had; and if the Greeks through their aid should succeed in establishing their independence, they may justly receive from them a maritime station in the Morea, without offence to any other state.—We must not expect that all nations will be blind to their interests and advantages, if we shall throw away our own.

their proceedings, but *at present*, as regards the Greeks, because, *in our present situation*, (the CAUSES of which make no part of my subject,) we could not, without endangering the peace of the world and our own security, afford them any profitable or permanent succour, without acting in concert with other nations for their deliverance.—If I saw a building on fire, filled with numbers of my fellow-creatures contending with the devouring flames for existence, I should not at all consider *by whose aid, but how only by any aid,* the conflagration might be the soonest extinguished.

It is not my intention by this comparison rudely to insult the sovereigns of Europe, which would be impolitic and disgraceful; but I may without just offence express a hope, as a British subject, that the Duke of Wellington is not to appear before them with general powers as the organ of an intriguing diplomacy, but as an august ambassador of the King, *(and in that case a well chosen representative,)* to communicate some liberal and decided resolution of our go-

vernment. If this be the purpose of his mission, I cannot but think that success would attend a proffered arbitration of Great Britain. I am strengthened in this belief, by the firm persuasion, that nothing approaching to the independence, or even to any support of the Greeks, was proposed on our part *at the former Congress.*—As far as their proceedings have been made public, *I can see nothing British in them.*—I do not complain of this, because the constitutions of their governments are different; but if *we* mix ourselves with their councils, *the free spirit of our own ought not to be overshadowed.*

The predominant object of this Preface is *even* YET imperfectly expressed. It is not merely from the organ of our foreign relations having been *changed*, that I now publish it, *but because I foresee good consequences from the change.*

My first knowledge of Mr. Canning's appointment, was from a journal for a long time devoted in political opinions to his Majesty's present Ministers; in a communication not as from a correspondent, but proceeding from the Editor

himself, in which *he hailed it* "*with exultation*" and "*with a hope, that a new star would arise* "*on the dark horizon of struggling and deserted* "*Greece.*" And after a warm and well-written eulogium on Mr. Canning, as an eloquent man of genius and a scholar, he expresses his "*dis-*" *belief* that he would abandon the land of his "studies to desolation, the descendants of ancient "heroes to indiscriminate slaughter, and the "daughters of Spartan matrons to slavery and "disgrace:" and then goes on to say, "we know "that he will not endanger the peace of his own "country and of Europe, by engaging in a soli-"tary crusade, but a tone may be taken which "may prove more effective than the sword.— "Let the sympathy of British negociators change "its object. Let it support *the oppressed* instead "of the *oppressors;* and without any danger to "the peace and equipoise of Europe, the desti-"nies of Greece will easily be fixed as policy "requires—as humanity and justice command."

The Editor may be assured, that in expressing the satisfaction which I received from this com-

munication, I do not commend it invidiously, as if I thought he was misleading the public, by prematurely pledging either the government generally, or the new foreign Secretary individually, to opinions and purposes in confirmation of *his own hopes;* but on the contrary, *from an anxious desire to express mine also,* that a journal so long attached to the present Administration, and so zealously supporting it, through the press, may not have been altogether unacquainted with the probability of the views which he contemplated.

For myself, I can only say, that I feel inclined to subscribe to the writer's anticipations as very reasonable; and if the feelings and opinions thus attributed to Mr. Canning had been expressed in parliament, by any Minister speaking as with authority from the rest, I never should have written a single line of the Letter which follows; as the reader will see, that I asked nothing of Lord Liverpool, but that which one might fairly hope would now be realized, through the efforts of that department of

the government which his own influence is believed to have placed in the hands of the new foreign Secretary, as *indispensable* for the public service.

This, however, is only common report, with the truth of which, *except as it seems powerfully to support and to forward my own object*, I disclaim for the present all concern.

I published my Letter from an impulse (quite unconnected with politics) which I could not possibly resist.—I knew that no fame could arise from only *publicly* professing to feel what every body must have *privately* felt, nor from expressing what all men alike, not lost to the sense of humanity, could equally have expressed; but from being more in public view, than might be the situations of many abler writers, I thought I stood upon a kind of vantage ground for attracting attention to a most interesting and affecting subject, " *which weighs upon the heart.*

A LETTER,

&c. &c.

My Lord,

If Parliament had continued sitting, it was my intention to have brought the subject of my Letter before the House of Lords, and if it could have been safely delayed, I should have waited until Parliament re-assembled; but as my object is to engage your Lordship's *earliest* attention to the sufferings of the Greeks, it is obvious that not a moment should be lost: I lament indeed that his Majesty has not long since been addressed by both branches of the legislature, beseeching him to fulfil the duty of a Christian sovereign by an instant endeavour to terminate the perpetration of those unutterable crimes which have so long been suffered to disgrace the Turkish domination. I question not at all

the King's humanity or justice, but as his Majesty can only act through the public councils, I address myself to your Lordship.

To remove in the very onset any intention of personal offence, I give you full credit, my Lord, for the warmest feelings upon this afflicting subject. I believe you, upon good evidence, to be anxiously solicitous for the security of Christians and the progress of the Gospel; but placed as you are in a highly responsible situation, in very critical times, you may apprehend difficulties in promoting those great objects by any measure of the government; and it is therefore I begin by maintaining, that you are solemnly and indispensably bound by a duty paramount to that of a statesman, to make an *instant* effort to engage the nations in alliance with this country to overthrow the cruel dominion of unprincipled, incorrigible barbarians, over a Christian people, struggling for freedom and independence.

The dominion of the Turks, my Lord, over the beautiful and extensive regions which include ancient Greece, was not an ordinary conquest, to be considered upon the received principles and precedents of civilized states towards each other.—If the Greeks had become subject to the Ottoman Porte through the ordinary

chances of war, and were governed according to the maxims of the civilized world, we should then, I admit, have no right to resist by force the severity of their government, however unjust; but I deny the application of this forbearance to the Ottoman Porte, acting as it has too long been suffered to do.

As Christians, my Lord, we ought besides to bear in mind that the dominion of the Saracens was not one of those changes of government by successful warfare which have taken place in all ages throughout the world, but that it was foretold by the Prophets, and but too well described in Scripture, as a smoke issuing from the bottomless pit which should cover a large portion of the earth with desolation.—We ought not to forget that in the region thus overwhelmed, the Almighty first revealed himself to mankind, and that our Redeemer sent forth from thence his Disciples and Apostles to preach the gospel of benevolence and peace, where it continued to be preached and to extend itself on every side until this preternatural pestilence, invading both soul and body, defiled the Christian revelation by a base imposture, and destroyed its sacred Professors.

We ought to hold in vindictive remembrance that in the City of Constantinople, now the hor-

rid theatre of unutterable crimes, the imperial standard of Christianity, after ages of persecution, was first triumphantly planted, and that her churches multiplied and flourished under it, until this assault of delusion and violence overthrew them, destroying in the same moment the most celebrated remains of the arts which had escaped the fury of the Goths and Vandals; having been collected by Constantine when, before their final eruption, the Roman Empire was divided.

Whoever will look into the work of Monsieur la Fosse, published lately at Paris when the equestrian statue of Henri Quatre was re-erected upon the Pont Neuf, will be astonished at the destruction of the most sublime monuments of the Ancient World which then unhappily took place. But what, my Lord, is the destruction of the Arts when compared with the prophanation of Christian churches and the atrocious murders of their ministers and worshippers; continued to this hour with accumulated horrors, not only amidst the indiscriminate slaughter of battles, but in cold blood upon the most innocent? Committed, my Lord, as it is reported and believed, by the personal command of the Sultan himself, by the command of a ruffian, if the fact be so, who, in assuming the character of magis-

tracy, debases and brutifies all human authority, bringing imperial sway and sovereignty into utter abhorrence and contempt. Yet, O shame! this infamous barbarian, at the head of barbarians equally infamous, continues to be the scourge of the fairest portion of once Christian Europe, because Christian Europe, in the meridian of its power and civilization, sleeps over its duties and betrays its trust!

Nothing, indeed, is more surprizing than to look back to the earliest periods of our history, and to contrast them with the times we live in.—When we were but a small island on the margin of the world, without power or resources beyond our own shores, those, too, very limited, and without any commanding influence over distant nations, then also in their infancies, yet our subjects *then*, with their king at their head, went forth with chivalrous but ill-directed piety to deliver the Holy Land even from the pollution of being trodden by the steps of infidels, and sacrificed our treasure and our blood by expeditions rash in the extreme, being accompanied with no adequate force.—Yet now that we have extended our dominion to the very ends of the earth, spreading the light of the Gospel in our glorious paths, and although we have *now* only to raise our commanding

voice amongst the nations, yet we shrink back from the deliverance of this injured people, exposing ourselves to the hazard of future wars, by preferring the false security of neutrality even in so just and sacred a cause.

It may be said, my Lord, that I am preaching a crusade fitter for the times of Richard Cœur de Lion and his barons, than that of George the Fourth and his parliament in the 19th century; but the difference is obvious.—The justice of God cannot exact from his creatures what He has not given them strength to perform, and as a thousand years is but as one day in the fulfilment of divine dispensations, we ought not irreverently to complain of the greatest evils until human means have been bestowed for their removal. It is *then*, and not till *then*, that the duty of exertion begins, a period so manifestly arrived, that all Christendom is called upon to stand forth; and it is binding upon us above all other nations to take the lead.

A late anonymous writer, pointing under the mask of a romance to the ancient and present condition of our country, expresses himself thus:—

"Though placed as it were a kind of exile, "in a remote margin of the world,—small in its

"compass,—in its climate disappointing from its
"vicissitudes,—surrounded by seas not often
"favourable to navigation, and only emerging
"from the darkness of barbarism in a late period
"of nations, it soon towered above them all, and
"has for a long season been the day-star of our
"planet.—It seems, indeed, as if the Divine
"Providence had chosen it as the instrument of
"its benevolent purpose, to enlighten by an
"almost insensible progression the distant and
"divided families of mankind, to hold up to
"them the sacred lamp of religious and moral
"truth, to harmonise them by the example of
"mild and liberal institutions, and to controul
"the disturbers of the social world with an un-
"paralleled arm of strength:—may she always
"remember that this mighty dominion is a trust
"—that her work is not yet finished—and that
"if she deserts or slumbers upon her post, she
"will be relieved and punished!"

This sentence, my Lord, though not distinguished by its eloquence, made a strong impression upon my mind when I read it, from a conviction of its truth—Indeed I feel it upon my nerves whenever I think I see in the administration of our government even a disposition to depart from the sources of that sublime pre-eminence which for so many ages we have

enjoyed. On an occasion, however, when it is my most anxious wish to promote an unanimous sentiment, and to excite an universal feeling, I shall not look back nor seek to support any opinions of my own, unchanged as they are, in opposition to the acts of our government in times that are past; but, prospectively, I may surely express a hope, without any injury to the cause I am supporting, that we shall never directly nor indirectly discountenance that liberal and free spirit which created, illustrated, and vindicated our own revolution—I may maintain, without offence, that it is our duty to take no part, to express no approbation even in the courtesies of states, and to hold ourselves altogether aloof from any co-operation with other governments upon the continent of Europe, to keep down, by force or by terror, the wishes of nations for popular balances in their own governments, or for any changes in them whatsoever which they may contemplate.—A system of unjust interference, that I foresee and deeply lament, is sapping the foundations of monarchical governments, which, when duly poised, are the wisest and most permanent institutions. The world, my Lord, is on its march with rapid steps to higher destinies, and I hope that our own country, as the original example

and pattern of freedom, will always be found, as heretofore, at the head of the column.—Invulnerable from without by her situation, and secure within herself from the excellence of her invaluable constitution, she has nothing to fear, if she be honestly and wisely faithful to the principles of freedom which gave it birth; if she shall dismiss the vain alarm of a House of Commons *chosen by her people*, and disdain every hold upon its members, except the most powerful one in a nation so enlightened, *the influences of wisdom and justice.—All* who have just observed the *unbought*, affectionate, dutiful respect, which has every where attended the King, *(which is but another way of describing every person throughout the whole of this island who can read,)* must surely be prepared at this moment, and with one voice, to exclaim against the falsehood, that to insure the personal safety of the Sovereign, to protect the prerogatives of his crown, and to maintain the peace and prosperity of the empire, it is necessary that our parliaments should be chosen under restrictive privileges, shutting out the most reasonable and the most impartial representations of property, from a dread (for there can be no other possible principle of exclusion) that the free sentiments of the subject might be ini-

mical to the security, the dignity, or the splendour of the throne.*

Until such notions are discouraged and abandoned, our country does not, *in my opinion*, maintain that sublime pre-eminence I referred to, which, from the virtue of our forefathers, became her noblest inheritance.

We see at this moment, how, by the obstinacy of unbalanced sovereignties, oppressed dependencies are starting up amidst bloodshed and desolation into impregnable empires, and I should grieve for England, if, instead of her being the first to hail their independence, she should be among the last even to acknowledge it, delaying ratification until wrung from her by the mercenary necessity of protecting her own commerce, and of quieting the remonstrances of her subjects.

To return directly, my Lord, to the subject of the Greeks: I maintain that our not exerting ourselves to deliver them from the tyrannous dominion which so grievously oppresses them, is not only the breach of a moral duty, but a

* I cannot help expressing my regret that my absence from my native country prevented me from witnessing his Majesty's reception in Scotland: a scene which I confidently anticipated, and which, for many reasons, has given me the highest satisfaction.

dereliction of the sacred object of spreading the Gospel, so zealously and, I believe, so sincerely promoted throughout this whole empire, and which I have already expressed, and now repeat, my firm belief that you are yourself anxious to accomplish.

You cannot but know, my Lord, that Christianity, reviled, trampled upon, and, at last, blotted out from so vast an extent of territory, had not only, as I have already observed, its original seat within the first shades of this disastrous eclipse, but was spreading itself over immense regions on every side; and if the savage atrocities of the Turks were effectually controuled, and a well-arranged establishment of the Greeks were duly protected, the Christian Religion, and a civilized government worthy of it, might in time be brought to flourish together, extending their influence all around.—The extent of country through which the Christian scriptures might then, by degrees, be circulated and understood, may be judged of by Mr. Martyn's observations on the new edition of the Polyglot lately published, or still publishing, under the patronage of the venerable and excellent Bishop of Durham: "We will preach by it," he says, "to Arabia and Syria, to Persia and Tartary—to China—to half of Africa—to all

the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and to a vast extent in British India."* Now, my Lord, if all this be so, can our duty be questioned, or can it be denied that all the zealous professions and the unremitting exertions of our numerous associations for the propagation of the Gospel, which I applaud and honour, and which, I firmly believe, will draw down a blessing upon us, are yet altogether as a drop in the ocean when compared with the flood of light which would break in over a world of darkness, if the means within our power were faithfully exerted.

I lay my account, my Lord, that the precedency which I have thought it my duty to give to this view of the subject, before I addressed your lordship as a statesman, may expose me to the unprincipled derision of prophane scoffers; but I must have been the weakest of mankind if I could have been deterred on that account from the course I have pursued.—I have not written a line which can justly subject me to the imputation of superstition, because though I have insisted upon the advantages that would follow from our exertions *merely as Christians*, yet I have not said that of *themselves* they were

* See also the interesting, pious, and learned work of the late ever-to-be-lamented Claudius Buchanan.

to be received as sufficient grounds for governments to act upon; and though I hold in the highest reverence the prophetic parts of Scripture, yet I have not mixed them at all with my opinions, though they have been directly applied to it by some of the best and wisest of mankind. I purposely avoided this, because whatever may be their most obvious interpretations, they were not intended *prematurely* to reveal future events, but to uphold our constancy by the lights they cast before them in their approaches, and to confirm our faith by the events.—I cannot however conceal, that I have very long felt the strongest impression from that view of the subject which I have not more distinctly expressed, and a sense of duty which I do not know how to describe, to declare publicly my opinion of its importance to the Christian world.

Why indeed should an individual be so lifted up above millions of his fellow-creatures, as to become a legislator in this renowned country in such extraordinary times, raised perhaps to that distinction with little or no merit of his own, and through, perhaps, unusual dispensations of Providence in his support during an uncommonly eventful life, yet endeavour to make no return either to God or man?

We are now, my Lord, arrived at the main

object of my Letter—viz. the protection which, in wise policy, we ought to afford at this moment to the Greeks, and it lies in the narrowest compass.

Although I can never subscribe to the doctrine of legitimate sovereignty against *the universal will* of any people, over whom it is claimed to be exercised, yet there is the greatest difference between a revolt against a civil government whether originating in compact or by ordinary conquest, and a resistance to the impious dominion of the Mahomedan conquerors, *when maintained and supported, as it is, by inhuman oppressions at variance with all the establishments of civilized man.*

This indeed, strictly speaking, embraces *the only principle of foreign interference.* There is no more foundation for making war against a people because they believe in Mahomet than if they were the most faithful believers in Christ.—*It is their casting off all the restraints which characterize the social world, that can alone give a right to other nations to controul them.*

France, therefore, was most unjustifiable in her interference during our American revolution, and it reverted fatally upon herself; our colonies, and those of Spain and Portugal, were peopled from their parent states; they were

supported by them in their expansions, which enabled them to assume the character of nations, and although great blame may be attached to those mother-countries in the management of such growing dependencies, yet they were political errors rather than oppressions; savagely wasteful dominion could not be imputed to them, nor any individual cruelties but such as were inseparable from a state of war after rebellion against the constituted authorities had begun; yet even in all these changes, public opinion has gone along with the resolutions of immense multitudes to be independent of any superiorities but of their own choice, and it will soon be more clearly discovered, that combinations of power to overawe unoffending communities and to resist those great movements which arise out of the advancing and improving condition of mankind, instead of retarding their progress, only lay the foundations of revolution in arbitrary states—I therefore distinctly admitted in the outset, and again repeat the admission, that if the Greeks were subjects of the Porte under an ordinary conquest, and were governed upon principles which the laws of nations subscribe to or ought to countenance, I should not consider our interference to be warranted, though, as a free people, we might take an in-

terest in their cause and be justified in wishing them success. My claim for them, therefore, rests upon facts that cannot be *denied*, and upon reasons which are *undeniable* if the facts be true.

I shall assume, without argument, from respect to your lordship's understanding and knowledge, that the Greeks can *by no possibility* (even if it were a desirable event) be brought to the condition of contented subjects, nor indeed to any pacific relations whatsoever with their tyrannous oppressors.—They have already begun to organize themselves as a nation; they are advancing amidst unexampled difficulties to maintain their independence; their successes encourage perseverance, and with the fortitude and patience of Christians, they invoke the God of Battles, in their public proclamations, to support their cause.—Such a resistance can surely no longer be considered as a mere sedition, which, if left to itself, might terminate in submission and conciliation, and I have therefore assumed as a self-evident proposition, that the Greeks can never more be subjects of the Ottoman Porte. They may, without the aid of other powers, be exterminated or scattered, but cannot again return to a state of subjection and peace.

The question, therefore, of action or inaction

comes directly home to us; it calls loudly and imperiously upon your Lordship as the first political member of the cabinet, for immediate decision—Are you prepared to countenance the continuance of such a frightful state of things, with means in your hands to avert it?

But before I advance to the manifest advantages which would follow from the independence of the Greeks, if established by our assistance, and the ease with which it might be accomplished, there is one branch of their sufferings that cannot but very deeply affect us; sufferings inseparable from their present condition, and from which we cannot but feel the most anxious wishes for their deliverance—I allude to the peculiar enormities which attend the system of slavery amidst the exasperations of this cruel warfare; and as, in the religious view of the subject, I maintained that all our national exertions for the progress of the gospel were only as a drop in the ocean, when compared with the light of it extinguished by the delusive dominion of the Turks, *so* I assert that the Negro Slave Trade was nothing in the scale of misery and debasement against the horrors which, during this sanguinary contest, must continue for ever.

What, my Lord, are the sufferings, dreadful

and detestable as they were, of almost a savage in the state of nature, like the unhappy African, when made the victim of this mercenary traffic, what were *his* sufferings when compared with those which are notoriously passing every day throughout the east? The simple abduction of women, and the separation of parents from their children, by carrying them into captivity of any description, are inhuman outrages in the lowest conditions of existence, but how much more dreadfully do they act upon families in cultivated life? How inexpressible must be *their* pangs, when with all the more refined feelings inspired by civilization, brutal ravishment is the almost certain consequence of abduction; the blood of unhappy infants often pouring out before their mothers, who suckled them at her breasts, too soon, perhaps, to be forcibly exposed to the assassin of her husband and her children.

Such abominations seldom or never occurred in the African Slave Trade, detestable as it was. The plea of necessity was for some time also so plausibly on its side, from the existence of British property in equatorial latitudes, where no other labour could be so readily obtained, that even a British parliament for a long time continued to sanction it, until the glorious spring-tide of humanity broke in, at last, like a torrent,

sweeping away before it whatever interrupted its course.—But the slavery *of the east*, my Lord, never had any thing to cover the nakedness of its iniquity.—The bulk of *her* slaves were not for labour under suns which Europeans could not endure, but principally for the odious purposes of voluptuousness and lust, and aggravated as they now are, amidst the rage and bitterness of war, are attended with such brutal and undescribable crimes, as, putting aside all Christian sympathies, might make us blush that we are men. I feel, whilst I am writing, that the ink must first have become blood, to enable me fitly to express my detestation and abhorrence.—It appears to me, indeed, that the abolition of the Slave Trade, which raised this nation above all created beings since the beginning of the world, cannot be said to be complete not only whilst such monstrous abuses of slavery are predominant, but whilst any traffic in human beings whatsoever is suffered to exist. When found among savages, we can do no more than attempt to humanise them, as we have always endeavoured to do, but when encouraged or publicly tolerated by any civilized nation, though I do not mean to assert it to be a cause of war, yet all *such nations ought to be rejected as allies.*

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When we abolished the African Slave Trade by act of parliament, it could, in strictness, only apply to prohibit that traffic *by our own subjects;* but did we stop there on that account? Did we consider our duty could not extend beyond our own jurisdiction, as the utmost limit of positive law? No, my Lord, to our immortal honour we did not; on the contrary, we have ever since been exerting ourselves, with other nations, to extinguish it throughout the world; and that able and excellent man, Lord Lansdowne, when he moved an address to his Majesty on the subject, only a few weeks ago, did not limit his views to the promotion of amicable arrangements with friendly states, but even extended them to the consideration of compelling, by the common consent of those governments that had abandoned it, any others which should continue to give it sanction and support.

By this introduction of slavery, as a separate consideration, I have not (*strictly speaking*) digressed from the subject of my Letter, as it is one of the most prominent and afflicting evils which has grown out of this disastrous conflict. I have besides not introduced it as in itself a justification of hostility to the Porte, but only to interest our feelings in the more extensive performance of a duty which rests upon other cir-

cumstances connected with our own character and safety.

If, however, I have gone beyond the mark on this branch of the question, my past life ought to protect me from criticism. After having, in my earliest youth, been an eye-witness to the enormities of this cruel traffic, when at its diabolical height; after having seen upon the coasts of Africa, the most unoffending of human beings torn from their parents and kindred, or deprived along with them not only of liberty, but even of the light of Heaven; chained down almost to suffocation in the breathless holds of a Guinea ship; after having repeatedly beheld the hapless victims in this deplorable condition, and accompanying them in their paths over an unhearing ocean, have seen them thrown overboard, as they died, to the devouring sharks that instinctively followed them in their course; when having seen long afterwards, and almost daily for years together, those, our unhappy brethren, considered merely as property in our courts of justice, and been myself often *personally* engaged in investigating, as matters of account with underwriters, the causes of their murderous deaths, when driven to desperation, during insurrections, they have plunged into the sea for escape; when, after all this, it fell

at last to my lot, and through ways as unaccountable as unexampled, to preside in the Lords House of Parliament on their deliverance—to hold up in my hands the great charter of their freedom, and with my voice to pronounce that it should be law—your Lordship, I am sure, whom I respect and regard as a man of honour and feeling, will rather approve than condemn my retaining the whole subject of slavery in the most affecting remembrance.'

'But if these are *my* sensations, who have only seen these things *without the smallest merit of my own*, but rather with a recollective reproach of insensibility from the blindness which inveterate custom is sure more or less to produce; what must be the sensations of WILBERFORCE, who is preserved to us at this hour, to complete, I hope, the triumph of his illustrious life? and although I have carefully shut out even the appearance of political partiality, I cannot help lifting up my mind to the contemplation of a world of spirits, to enable me to imagine rather than to express with what a voice, as if the Greeks were not only re-established, but the first of their orators had arisen from the dead, the never-to-be-forgotten Fox (immortal if on no other account) would have thundered over the heads of those who slumbered in such a cause:

I now return, my Lord, to the main subject of my address—the liberation of the Greeks.—I have already assumed, as a matter of fact unquestionable, that they cannot be brought back to the condition of subjects, nor to any pacific relations whatsoever with the Porte, under any possible arrangements which force or convention could introduce; and herein arises the only peculiarity of the case—difficulty I will not call it.

Assistance and protection cannot be given to the Greeks in the same manner as if they were distant provinces contending for independence, which might be even beneficially successful in the end to the parent state, (if Turkey ought to be so described,) and without affecting her main possessions: *but the contention here is for the soil which both them inhabit*, and therefore one of them must be dispossessed of territory to some extent or other, because they cannot remain together, except in a state of such *murderous, interminable* hostility as ought to be considered a public nuisance to all mankind.—On which side then, my Lord, does justice lie, when, after the possession of ancient Greece by such means, it has been so shockingly abused as not to be protected by any principles or precedents which public law has ever adopted or can righteously adopt?

The freehold of the Greeks, if I may so describe the possessions of that ancient nation, comprehended Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Achaia, Peloponnesus, and Negropont, &c. &c. with most of the islands in the Archipelago, the Ionian Islands amongst the number, they being sometimes called Ionians on that account. They were masters of the celebrated cities, with their districts, of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Corinth, and Mycænę, &c. and were a most refined and celebrated people.—Classical learning, so justly encouraged in all countries as indispensable, derives its principal sources from their sublime superiority in poetry and eloquence, which, in the lapse of so many ages, have found no competition; and even at this hour, to inspire those who are to live after us, with the most exalted sentiments, with contempt of danger and the sacred love of their country, we make them stoop at their desks, in their earliest years, over the histories of their illustrious forefathers, in periods when the noblest of our own were in the woods. The claim, therefore, of the Greeks, with the aid of all Christendom, to a free and undisturbed territory, *commensurate at least with their present population*, is the clearest in human annals, whilst the dominion of the Turks, who overpower and oppress them, is the most auda-

cious usurpation.—They began, extended, and completed their ravages under the mask of imposture, impiously pretending to a commission from Heaven for the desolation of the earth.

In such a case, my Lord, have not nations a right, and is it not their duty to overthrow the spoiler, (*if he resists just accommodation,*) and restore possession to the oppressed?

There are limits, however, to the exercise of this right. We should neither be bound nor even warranted to set on foot a rash crusade, involving countries, when just happily returning to a state of peace.—I should be among the first to express my dissent to such a project. All that I ask of the British government, through your lordship, is an *instant, faithful and strenuous exertion*, to engage our allies in this great cause of humanity and justice, without giving rise (*as I assert it could not*) to any probable or rather possible contest which could deserve the name of war.

It cannot be questioned, that by thus taking the lead for the deliverance of the Greeks, we should lay the foundation of an endless gratitude, be advantaged by their returning power and commerce, whilst we were snatching from the desert the most fertile provinces, and redeem-

ing from abject slavery and contagious pestilence, the noblest people of the ancient world.

But it is objected that the Greeks are not less savagely cruel than the Turks.—I WILL NOT HEAR SUCH A CHARGE.—The gentlest animals which Providence has subjected to us, patient of labour, and licking the benevolent hand that feeds them, when maddened with terror and goaded by barbarous oppression, will change on a sudden all the characteristics of their original natures, and overthrow every thing in their course. To judge of what the Greeks, *under good government*, are capable of *being*, we have only to look back to what they *have been*. Their pedigrees, in which we can trace so many great men, *who never should have died*, ought to protect them from the Saracens, who cannot show in all their escutcheons, *a single man who should have lived*.

Well then may we exclaim to such miscreants, in the language of Milton—

> "Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower,—
> The great Œmathian conqueror bid spare
> The house of Pandarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground."

But although I have thus endeavoured, against

my most predominant feelings, to expel from my indignant view cruelties by whomsoever committed, and, in protection of the unfortunate Greeks, have covered them with the veil which our imperfect natures entitled me to throw over them; yet let it be remembered, that what I have written concerning them, applies only to unpremeditated inhumanity, such as, when hunted like wild beasts, they have turned upon their pursuers, but that barbarous retaliations can receive no pardon if continued when they are contending as a nation for their religion and freedom. I rejoice that they are advanced to that condition, that they are marshalling armies, that they are laying the foundations of a civil government, and I feel confident that they will henceforth remember that they are soldiers, and christians.

That our influence could fail, if faithfully exerted, I cannot bring my mind to believe. I might ask those who were the warmest advocates for the war, and who hold the highest its happy termination, and the eminence on which it has placed us, what *they* would think if it could be doubted, that if we spoke the word we should be obeyed. The misfortune is, my Lord, *that we did not speak it at* a time when many of the enormities which have taken place, and for a

long time must follow, might have been averted; and I fear that we may *now* be under great embarrassment in holding a different course.—I am convinced that it has been entirely owing to the system which the governments of Europe have too long been pursuing, that the great work of humanity and justice has not long ago been complete, and the only difficulty I can foresee to its instant accomplishment is that, perhaps, we ourselves must retrace some of our steps in taking the lead to give it effect.—Our alliance with the Porte ought to have been long ago removed out of the way, as being unworthy of the British government and people; and without contending that we should at once have resented by hostility their monstrous iniquities, yet, if not a man in England were prepared to second my opinion, I should assert that it would have become us to withdraw our ambassador from Constantinople, and to reject such a banditti as our allies.—The King of Great Britain ought not to be styled the Brother of the Sultan, whilst the desolation of Scio and the butchery of the hostages are unatoned for. These authorized murders are not the acts of a civilized nation. "The voice of their blood," like that of the first victim of violence, "cries unto God out of the ground," and the judgment of God ought to be an ex-

ample to the nations who worship him. "*Let them be fugitives and vagabonds upon the earth.*"

It has been the continuance, my Lord, of supporting the Ottoman Porte as a legitimate sovereignty, that has been the parent of so many wrongs.—I do not know, indeed, how I can better illustrate the baseness of such an alliance, than by reminding your Lordship, that the manner in which I have written of and concerning the Grand Signior, and of and concerning his murderous divan, (he being an ally of Great Britain,) is a misdemeanour, punishable by indictment; and accordingly, when the Emperor Paul of Russia had published an ukase, though of the most hostile description to British interests, yet, your Lordship may see in Mr. Howell's State Trials, that a severe animadversion on that emperor was held to be a libel; Lord Kenyon, who presided upon the trial, having instructed the jury that it was their duty to convict the printer, as the Emperor Paul was our ally, and after all the exertions I could make for him he was convicted. Now let me suppose that such an indictment were to be preferred against my bookseller, or myself, at the instance of the Turkish ambassador at our court, for a libel upon his master, I do not see how any judge in Westminster Hall could direct a jury differently from that able lawyer and

great judge I have referred to, *but where could be found, in the case before us, (since the libel act,) a jury who would follow such a direction?* most probably, no where; and a verdict of acquittal on such a prosecution would only remain upon record as a judgment of the nation against its government, for adopting *such a sultan* for our ally.

Opinion, my Lord, has already pronounced *her* verdict on the subject, in the public remark which Sir Thomas Maitland has for some time borne the brunt of, as our representative in that horrid quarter; but I desire no better proof of the acts and wishes of our government, than in what Sir Thomas Maitland has done; I make myself sure that he has never departed from his instructions, nor consequently from his duty; I have known him all my life, and in different situations of high responsible trust, in all of which his conduct has been exemplary and his character without reproach.

I should indeed desire nothing better than that instead of his being made our agent, as he has been, to preserve a cold and unworthy neutrality, he should be advised with, as being one so thoroughly acquainted with all the details of the war now waging, how it might be most speedily terminated, and the Greeks the most ad-

vantageously protected. My own opinion undoubtedly is, always has been, and ever must continue, *though I have not pressed it upon your Lordship*, nor mean to press it, that the Turks should be thrust forth at once from Europe by its united force, *if it can be obtained*, and in effecting this I should not think it necessary to consult the Duke of Wellington, as the greatest man for conducting an army that ever existed amongst us, or I believe ever will; I should rather confide the matter to some long practised diplomatist, with the assistance of *a lawyer to draw up the notice to quit*.

This is no figure, my Lord,—since what possible resistance could Turkey make, if Europe could settle to whom possession should be delivered?

They who are disposed to consider the abatement of this nuisance as an undertaking of great expense, difficulty and danger, cannot have sufficiently considered the progress which the Greeks, though unassisted, have already made, and are hourly making, to establish their own independence, nor with how little assistance it might be completed. The only use indeed of *an immediately decisive force*, would be to prevent, in the interval, such an afflicting effusion of blood—Whoever is at all acquainted with naval

affairs, must be astonished at the courage and skill with which their infant navies have been conducted, and particularly with the art and boldness of grappling as they did so lately the immense ship of the Turkish Pasha, and accomplishing its destruction.

The very local situations of their conflicts, and the remembrance of the ancient deeds *of the same people*, is with me a kind of prognostic of success. They are now, I believe, in the citadel, as it is called, of Athens, and although it must be a position of no strength in the fallen condition of that once renowned city, yet they may be animated by the sight of SALAMIS, directly over against them, and their sailors may be told how Themistocles, with a most insignificant force, drew the memorable fleet of Xerxes into a narrow sea, where his large ships could not be conducted, and utterly destroyed them; a fleet, which, according to the historian, was the greatest then known in the history of mankind, yet by such inadequate means overthrown.—"*Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium, maxima post hominum memoriam classis est devicta,*"

MARATHON also is now directly within their view, only ten miles before them, where Miltiades, instead of entrenching himself behind

walls now in the dust, combated on the open plain the captain of Darius, *and with only a handful of Athenians, the fathers of the present Greeks,* obtained that immortal victory over an hundred thousand men. *Qua pugna,* nihil adhunc est nobilius, nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

Signal successes in war, under distinguished commanders, are as likely to overthrow the barbarians of the present day as the barbarians of former times, and the rather, because examples have such a powerful influence on all the exertions of mankind.

My observations, my Lord, upon this afflicting subject, are drawing fast to their close. It has been for some time no secret that a Congress is to be held upon the continent, where the subject of the Greeks cannot but come under consideration, and that we are to be represented at it by some minister of state. It was this which determined me, without a moment's delay, to write and to publish this Letter; because it would have been too late to make any useful appeal to your Lordship or the public, after we had taken our part, and perhaps concurred in measures which I could *then* only *uselessly* dissent from.

If this congress of sovereigns and their ministers is only to have for its object the renewed

support of principles and projects already too notorious, and if, to avoid any incongruity or departure from the system hitherto acted upon, *Turkey is to be sanctimoniously upheld as a legitimate sovereignty, and the Greeks are to be sacrificed, or in any manner compromised, on the ground that they are the subjects of the Porte, and bound by their allegiance, though against their universal will,* to obedience and *peace*, I desire hereby to express my abhorrence of comprehending this country in such an odious combination, and I am confident that the great mass of the British people will join me in my protest.—My alarm as to the *future*, my Lord, is justified by what is *past*—The conduct of Russia is quite inexplicable upon any other ground than that she has been *recently at least* acting in concert with the continental powers, and that the continental powers, and ourselves perhaps along with them, had taken no steps for *any* establishment for the Greeks, nor were preparing to provide for them any security whatsoever.

Russia, my Lord, in the early part of the spring, collected an immense army, and as the season advanced marched large divisions of it in the direction of the Turkish frontier; yet, although the atrocities multiplied every hour,

and with accumulated horrors, she took no step to prevent them, and although she knew that the Greeks were in arms for their independence and making a glorious struggle against their oppressors, she proceeded no farther, but published an *ultimatum* most inadequate to their protection or support.—Since how could the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia put a stop to the barbarous outrages on the unhappy Greeks, then at their portentous height? and what demand for their benefit could be more useless than that of rebuilding the churches which had been demolished; since what defenceless Christian, unless he aspired to the fame of a martyr, would venture to set foot in any one of them when rebuilt? I may be mistaken, my Lord, but I think I see the predominance of the Holy Alliance in this retrograde proceeding; that the Emperor resolved to sacrifice his personal ambition, tempted as he was to the gratification of it, and that when the confederates continued to consider Turkey as a *legitimate* government *which meditated no reformation*, they determined to remain neutral *and to leave the Greeks to themselves.*

In offering my opinions to your Lordship through the press whilst Parliament is not sitting, I have only stated *the principles* on which I think we should act, but have not

presumed to thrust myself into the public councils by suggesting the fittest course to be pursued for giving them the most desirable effect—I have not the means, even if my judgment were equal to the decision, of ascertaining the most favourable or efficacious mode of seconding the noble efforts of the Greeks for liberty and life. An immediate invasion by a combined force, for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, might be attended with difficulties which I cannot correctly estimate, and which, in the immediate consequences of that sanguinary conflict, might be injurious to the great object of bloodless liberation; but what I firmly maintain to be quite indispensable, *is to compel a total renunciation by the Turks of all dominion over the Greeks as subjects, and to guarantee their independence by all the nations which should engage in their support; with such extent of territory as might be thought just, considering their growing population and their former condition, which has been overthrown. Nothing short of this* (if it can be brought about by our commanding councils) can deliver this country from universal reproach, nor secure us against consequences which might be fatal in the end to the best interests of Great Britain, which I hasten in a very few sentences to explain.—It is not at all my wish, *as will be*

seen presently, to endanger the peace of Europe by Russian aggrandizement; but, on the contrary, to prevent its possibility hereafter by the means I have recommended.

If the Greeks, to some extent or other, are not now satisfactorily and securely established with the general concurrence of the nations of Europe, can we *depend*, my Lord, that Russia will *for ever* abandon the favourite and popular policy of her empire? and if, sooner or later, her present Emperor, or some more ambitious successor, (even under a compromise with the Greeks when abandoned by all other governments,) should place himself upon the throne of Constantinople, what possible objection could we *then* raise to the termination of so many calamities, and how miserably helpless we should *then* be, if, alarmed by his station in the Mediterranean, we should attempt to resist it! The armies of Europe, if we could combine them for our asssistance, would only be a national curse, since the money must come from us, as where else could it be found?

Instead of thinking this a vain speculation, I consider it as very likely to take place. The Emperor of Russia is the head of the Greek church, and will always have sufficient provocations to justify hostilities against the Porte; and although

he has been obviously entangled at present with the views of other governments, *and, perhaps, out-manœuvred by their combination*, yet I can see no security for this forbearance in all future times—because whatever may be his own opinions or resolutions, it should be remembered that he is not a despotic Sovereign; and that the deep-rooted policy regarding Turkey is by no means a matter of indifference throughout his empire.—It cannot be expected that he will disband his army, and it may be found both difficult and dangerous to keep on foot nearly a million of men in arms without any objects for their service; more especially after the dereliction of a favourite project, in notorious opposition to the interests of his highest subjects and the long-indulged wishes of immense masses of his people.—I cannot, therefore, figure to myself a more probable nor a more dangerous event for the prosperity of this country, than Constantinople becoming the maritime capital of the Russian empire, an event which would be the more grievous and intolerable from the ease by which it might have been averted.

There is yet another contingency still more probable, which we should do well also to take into the account. Those immense provinces now part of Turkey in Europe, capable of such

mighty improvements, as, perhaps, to become too important, if Russia were singly to seize them, for other powers to agree, without contest, to their occupation, might, as has happened *in other quarters*, become subjects of partition, whilst the Greeks, who would have been entirely devoted to us if duly protected, may become tributary, in the end, to those *contiguous* empires, and add to a most formidable naval power in the Mediterranean sea, whilst Great Britain, so remotely distant, must in her present condition, or in any probable one for an incalculable time to come, be unable, either by negociation or by war, to prevent such dangerous combinations.

I cannot, however, conclude without one word more as to *the Emperor Alexander*.—So many circumstances have fallen within my own personal knowledge which illustrated to my perfect conviction his *earliest* character as a man of the justest feelings, and I have so long entertained an opinion that he has a disposition to improve the moral condition of his own empire without any tyrannical projects regarding others; that notwithstanding what took place at Naples, *(the whole of which I hold in the highest condemnation,)* yet all circumstances are not sufficiently before me to remove from my mind *the most*

favourable prepossessions of a very long standing. I pray God that he may live and reign to confirm the opinion which I have expressed; that he may lay to his heart, from examples which he never can forget, the wickedness and probable disappointment of inordinate ambition, that he may become the virtuous and disinterested protector of an oppressed people, and concur with Great Britain in the objects which I have recommended.—Let him but do *this*, and by the universal suffrage of a world completely changed since the days of the Macedonian, he, and he only, will receive from all future generations the title of *Alexander the Great.*

If your Lordship shall do me the honour to cast your eye over my Letter, you will readily perceive that it has been very hastily written, and much of it in a style not the best suited to the closet of a minister of state.—I admit this, and had I been writing only to your Lordship it would in many parts have been framed differently; but it was my object, through you, my Lord, on a subject so interesting to the public, to consider myself as addressing all the people of this country.

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AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

IN THE

Cause of the Greeks,

OCCASIONED BY

THE LATE INHUMAN MASSACRES

IN THE

ISLE OF SCIO, &c.

BY

THE REV. T. S. HUGHES,

Author of Travels

IN

SICILY, GREECE, AND ALBANIA.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SIMPKIN AND MARSHALL, STATIONERS'-HALL COURT, LUDGATE-STREET.

1822.

YARMOUTH:

PRINTED BY C. SLOMAN, JUN.

KING-STREET.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader is requested to extend his favourable indulgence to any errors of style, or improprieties of expression, which he may discover in the following Address, inasmuch as it was written on the spur of the moment, under the influence of strong feelings upon the subject, and put to press after the short space of three days, interrupted by various engagements. Its principal object is to promote a subscription among the generous inhabitants of Great Britain, for the succour of the unfortunate Greeks, and if any profits should arise from its sale, they shall be religiously applied to that sacred cause.

GREAT YARMOUTH, NORFOLK,
July 9, 1822.

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

In the *Courier Newspaper* of the twenty-ninth ult. I read with feelings that I shall not attempt to describe, the following extract from the Parliamentary Debates:

EXECUTION OF THE SCIO HOSTAGES.

"Mr. W. Smith wished to put a question to the Noble Marquis opposite, on a subject which was of the greatest interest, not only to the British nation, but also to the whole European community. There had that day appeared in the public prints accounts of certain transactions at Constantinople, which could not fail to excite the strongest sensations of horror in the mind of every man who read them. (Hear, hear.) He knew some individuals that took a deeper interest than could possibly be entertained by any British heart. (Hear, hear.) He therefore

wished to ask the Noble Marquis, whether he had received any official accounts, from our minister at Constantinople, or our diplomatic agents elsewhere, which enabled him to judge of the correctness of the accounts in question.

"The Marquis of LONDONDERRY gave an answer, of which the first part was quite inaudible in the gallery. We afterwards understood him to say, that government was in possession of the fact, that ten or twelve of the hostages for the people of Scio had been executed at Constantinople, but not of any details regarding it. A calamity had occurred—and he could not describe the transaction alluded to by any other name—a calamity had occurred, which had arisen out of the peculiar acts of barbarity which had been perpetrated on both sides, during the war in the island of Scio. Acts of barbarity, he repeated it, had been committed on both sides. —(Hear.) The Greeks had themselves committed certain cruelties, which, though they did not justify, led to the transactions complained of.—(Hear.)

"MR. W. SMITH said, that he was rather inclined to think that, instead of twelve or fifteen, eighty-five persons had suffered death by the hands of the executioner. He had asked the question, in order to obtain some precise infor-

mation upon it. Though the public would scarcely believe the fact, he had been told by a person who was in the town at the time of the execution, though he could not bring himself to witness it, that six persons had been impaled alive, who had committed no other crime than that of becoming hostages for their fellow-countrymen at Scio. (Hear.)

"Sir J. MACKINTOSH would put a question to the Noble Lord, which would bring the matter home at once to the honour and the feeling of the British nation. He asked him, whether any dispatches had been received from our ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, from which it could be ascertained whether any of those persons who had been murdered by the barbarous tyrants at Constantinople had been under the protection of the British minister, Lord Strangford, or had surrendered themselves to the Turks under any pledge, promise, or assurance of safety from that nobleman?—(Hear) He would also take the opportunity of asking the Noble Marquis, whether it was mentioned in any of the recent dispatches he had received, that the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople were filled with amiable Greek ladies and children, offered to the caprices of barbarous Mahomedan voluptuaries? He asked whether ministers

could afford the nation any account of the new slave trade, recently established in the east, for amiable and accomplished Christian females, by a government which was encouraged and supported by the administration of this free and enlightened country. (Hear.)

"The Marquis of LONDONDERRY in reply, stated, that the question of the honourable and learned gentlemen involved an argument as well as a question, and that if he wanted an answer to his argument, he must bring it forward upon another occasion. He believed that eighty or ninety individuals had recently been executed at Constantinople, but several of them were inhabitants of the Morea; and, as he was informed, not more than ten or twelve of them hostages from Scio. Those persons could not be considered in any degree under the protection of the British government, or in such a situation as to require our interference upon the principle of protection. Upon the principle of good offices, Lord Strangford, much to his own honour, and that of the government he represented, had frequently interposed. That interposition had in general been favourably received; and there had once been reason to hope, that the hostages from Scio were in perfect security. How far the determination of the Turkish

government upon that point had been altered by subsequent information, he could not tell; for, as to the hostages from Scio, he had not at present sufficient information."

After the perusal of this dialogue, I was unable to proceed further; every other subject lost its relish, in the absorbing interest of the momentous concerns of a suffering nation—of a classic nation, whose associations twine themselves around the very soul—of a Christian nation, in which I had experienced the rights of hospitality, and whose misfortunes, as well as its antiquities, I had already endeavoured to make familiar to my countrymen. I felt therefore, that, as a traveller and an author, as a man and a Christian, above all, as the minister of a religion which teaches us that we are not born for ourselves alone, silence would in me be criminal. The public has a right, on all topics in which it is interested, to demand the sentiments and opinions of those members of the community, who, from personal observation and experience, are able to afford any information. I have learned that the character of England, which once stood so pre-eminent among all nations for generous sympathy towards the unfortunate and oppressed, has become an object of disgust and detestation to a suffering people, who,

in the commencement of their struggle, looked up to us as the natural averters of misery, and patrons of humanity. From public documents, and private information, I plainly perceive the inclination of continental confederates, tending to the support of what is called, "the balance of power," and "the peace of Europe;" or, in other words, to the protection of an infidel exterminating government, to an alliance with deliberate murderers, barbarians habitually stained with the most abominable vices, and declared enemies of the Christian faith. The reports, and indeed the confident assertions made in almost every letter which arrives from Greece, that stores and ammunition are sent out in English ships to provision Turkish fortresses; that English officers are serving in the Turkish navy and artillery; that confiscations of property and imprisonment of persons are denounced and executed, by our authorities in the Ionian islands, against the friends and relatives of those whom we are pleased to call Grecian rebels; that the rights of hospitality, in the same quarter, have in many instances been refused to the miserable fugitives from Turkish vengeance; all these considerations render an appeal to the English people still more necessary. Under such reflections, I felt that, in remaining silent any longer,

I should be a traitor to myself, a traitor to my country, a traitor to humanity, and a traitor to my God.

I appeal not to governments, statesmen, and politicians. I am aware that they are surrounded with difficulties and perplexing considerations; that they are frequently obliged to pursue what appear to be temporary interests, in preference to those which are more remote, and to adopt a line of policy which their consciences cannot help condemning: but, whilst I endeavour to shew that the policy of supporting such an empire as that of Turkey, is weak and vain, unless it were possible to effect an entire change in the moral habits and religious principles of its constituents, I would excite that ardour and enthusiasm in the breasts of my countrymen, which may lead them to express openly their sentiments in the cause of humanity. The *vox populi* has been sometimes rather impiously denominated the *vox dei:* in this instance, however, it might deserve the appellation; and if it should fail to influence our rulers in adopting more liberal and generous resolutions, and redeeming the character of government abroad, upon which the best interests of a nation always depend, let us at least demonstrate by our acts, as individuals, that we are not indifferent to the

fate of a Christian nation, struggling for existence with infidels and barbarians. It is not by steel only that the sinews of war are supplied, or its events decided. The expression of a great and generous people's approbation, the very influence of their encouragement, and, above all, the communication of their resources, might at this time operate most powerfully in restoring a miserable nation to its rights; in vindicating the cause of Christianity through the triumph of the Greeks; and in delivering Europe from the disgraceful presence of a tribe, who, to the vices of the most effeminate, add the cruelties of the most barbarous people; who contribute nothing to the general interests of nations, but render the beautiful country which they oppress the common sepulchre of arts and science.

In appealing then to my countrymen, I am willing to believe, that the spirit of their forefathers is not yet extinct: nor does any necessity exist for reminding them, that the glory of their country consists, not so much in the honour of its high military and naval exploits, in the prodigious extent of its commercial relations, in the lustre which arts and science spread around its shores, and in its mighty names which Genius has inscribed upon the

that spirit of benevolence and philanthropy which has hitherto distinguished the British isles. I might, indeed, endeavour to animate their enthusiasm, by recalling to their minds what Greece has been; that land, the fostering nurse of civilization; where the spirit of antiquity still seems to linger amidst its olive groves, its myrtle bowers, and the precious relics of its splendid edifices; where both sacred and profane history unite in forming the most interesting associations; where Socrates taught the lessons of his incomparable ethics, and a still greater than Socrates disclosed the mysteries of the "unknown God," to those that sat in darkness. I might excite their gratitude and compassion by passing before their view the shades of departed sages, poets, and historians, whose immortal writings still form and delight our minds. I might inflame their ardour by apostrophizing the manes of a Miltiades and a Leonidas, and by dwelling upon the glories of Salamis and Thermopylæ; but I have a much more sacred cause to plead, and an infinitely higher name to invoke: the cause I plead is that of suffering Christians—the name I invoke, is that of Him who died upon the Cross, who, in the frightful torments of his followers, is daily crucified afresh, whilst innumerable multitudes

of those followers are urged by fierce, relentless persecution, to apostatize from their faith, and to seek the only remedy for their temporal calamities in the perdition of their immortal souls.

It is possible that the people of England may be unacquainted with the superstition of these barbarians, who are so zealously supported by Christian powers! They may not know that it is fiercely and implacably hostile to Christianity —that it was hatched and matured in falsehood, hypocrisy, and blood—that it addresses itself to the sensual appetites and corrupt passions—that it cherishes inordinate pride, fanatic zeal, and is a pandar to the most abominable impurities—that it degrades the dignity of human nature, and depreciates the value of human life—that it encourages ignorance by representing all arts, sciences, and literature as unnecessary, or prejudicial to mankind, unless warranted by the Koran—that it produces mental torpor and apathy, chilling every tendency to speculative exertion or intellectual and moral improvement, by the desolating doctrines of fatality and predestination—finally, that it establishes the horrid principle, that civil and political power shall depend exclusively upon faith in the law of Mahomet, whilst it exposes every Christian to the unrestrained brutality, and

irresponsible tyranny of the vilest wretch that wears a turban. If the reader would learn what insults and horrors the very ministers of the gospel are subjected to, in this vile land of abominations, if he has forgotten the cruel public execution of the Patriarch of Constantinople, hung like a dog before the gates of his own cathedral, let him peruse the following history, which I have extracted from the interesting work of my friend, M. Pouqueville, late Consul of France, at the court of Ali Pasha.

After describing an insurrection among the Thessalians, in the year 1809, under the conduct of the patriotic hero, Blachavas, who, after a capitulation, with the promise of life and liberty, was cruelly put to death by the Albanian tyrant, Mr. P. thus proceeds:

"Demetrius, a venerable monk, of the order of Saint Basile, instigated by that evangelical charity which was a characteristic of the apostolic fathers in the time of the persecutions, traversed the whole agitated province, to calm the troubled spirits of its inhabitants, and bring them back to the yoke of obedience. For these pious labours, he was denounced as a rebel, and brought, loaded with irons, into the presence of the Albanian Satrap. Being there commanded to declare his accomplices, in hopes that

many Thessalian prelates and ecclesiastics might be involved in an assumed conspiracy, the answers of this pious man, strong in ardent faith, and his appeals to the living God for the truth of his assertions, inflamed to the highest degree the anger of the tyrant, which exhaled itself in the following dialogue, worthy of being transmitted to posterity among the annals of martyrology.

"Ali. You have announced the reign of Jesus Christ, and, in consequence, the overthrow of our altars and the Sultan.

"Demetrius. The God whom I worship has existed, and will exist eternally: I acknowledge and reverence those whom he has placed in authority over us!

"Ali. What is that you carry in your bosom?

"Demetrius. The venerable portrait of his holy Mother!

"Ali. I wish to see it.

"Demetrius. It must not be profaned; order one of my hands to be set at liberty, and I will present it to you.

"Ali. Thus it is you mislead the minds of the people; we then are the profane. In this discourse, I recognize the agent of the Greek Bishops, who call in the Russians for our subjection: name your accomplices.

"DEMETRIUS. My accomplices are my conscience and my duty, which oblige me to console my fellow-christians, and render them obedient to your laws!

"ALI. Tell your fellow-christians then, you Christian dog—

"DEMETRIUS. That name is my glory!

"ALI. You bear a portrait of the Virgin, to which it is said the powers of enchantment are attached.

"DEMETRIUS. Say rather miraculous powers. The Mother of my Saviour is our mediator with her immortal Son and the Father: her miracles are every day performed in our behalf, and every day I call upon her!

"ALI. See then if she will preserve you. Executioners, carry him to the torture!

"At these words, pronounced with all the energy of indignation, the executioners seize the victim, and throw him down at the feet of the tyrant, who spits in his face. The holy image is torn from his bosom, and sharp needles are thrust slowly under the nails of his fingers and toes: but in the extremity of his torments, the following words only escape his mouth. "Lord, have pity on thy servant!—Queen of Heaven, pray for him!" This species of torture being ended, a chain of small bones is

applied to the venerable head of the Confessor, and while they draw it tight round his forehead with the utmost violence, they call upon him to accuse himself, and to name his accomplices; but the chain is broken without drawing from him the slightest complaint or expression of pain: the martyr appears affected only by the outrages of impiety committed against his God. The executioners being at length fatigued, demand a suspension of the torture till the following day, and the sufferer is hurled down to the bottom of a damp and miserable dungeon.

"Next morning the punishment was renewed, by order of the Vizier, but without his presence. The victim was suspended with his head downwards over a fire of green wood, until the skin was entirely burned from off the skull: that his life and sufferings might be prolonged, the brazier was then removed, and a board placed over his body, upon which the executioners mounted, and jumped with such force as to crush his limbs. Victorious in this last trial, Demetrius was then built up within a wall, his head alone being left free amidst the masonry, and he was fed daily, that his torments might be lengthened; it was not until the tenth sun arose that his life and agonies were closed together, whilst the last word that expired upon his tongue was the name of Omnipotent.

"This supernatural courage astonished all Epirus, and Demetrius was regarded as a saint. A Mahometan of Kostoria, who had been witness of his sufferings, demanded baptism, a ceremony which soon afterwards procured for him the crown of martyrdom."

So much for the religion of the Turks, and the treatment which the professors of Christianity receive at their hands. Does the reader wish an example of their want of faith? let him recur to the murder of the innocent hostages in the Parliamentary extract, at the head of this pamphlet, the truth of which is acknowledged by our own ministers: of hypocrisy? let him read the following extract from a manifesto of the Sultan, extracted from the *Austrian Observer* of September 7, 1821:

"It is evident, that all the rules and political dispositions, which, from ancient times, have been observed in my Sublime Empire, are founded upon the noble commandments of that pure law, whose solidity and duration are guaranteed by God, even until the day of resurrection, &c.—The Greek people have been at all times tributary subjects of my Sublime Porte: mercy and clemency have been extended towards them in every particular: their honour, their properties, and their lives have been defended,

protected, and secured: they have never experienced any other treatment than favour, and every sort of kindness, even beyond that which had been promised in the treaties with the Rajahs: nevertheless, they have had the audacity to trample under foot the *divine mercies* of which they have been the objects, to pursue the paths of *ingratitude*, and, with their characteristic perfidy, to maintain a perverse and traitorous conduct, opposed at once to their allegiance and good faith."

Does the reader seek for instances of cruelty and ferocity? let him open the journal of any traveller, who has touched upon the subject of Turkish affairs. If he should be at a loss where to turn, I will give him another extract from Mr. Pouqueville's interesting volumes. It is a description of the destruction of Joannina, by Ali Pasha and his opposing enemies, and let it be observed, that, among the principal horrors of this detestable government, one of the greatest is that state of anarchy which exists among its inferior rulers. There is scarcely a province where the Pasha, after he has become rich and powerful by contributions and confiscations, by the sale of offices and of justice, by exactions for imputed crimes, and every other method of spoliation which fraud and violence

can plot and execute, does not set himself up as an independent chief: as far as he is himself concerned, this policy is good, for the laws of Turkey, making the Sultan heir to the property of his officers, there is no want of a rapid succession in all departments of the state; whilst, therefore, a governor can by his resources make head against the power of his sovereign and heir-apparent, so long does he ward off the sabre or the bowstring from his own neck: but the miseries of the poor inhabitants, especially of the innocent and helpless, in these conflicts, where no horror of barbarian warfare is forgotten, are inconceivable. Some faint idea may be formed of them from the following relation:

"As soon as the Turkish army was seen encamped upon the heights of Driscos, the lake was covered with barks full of women and children of the first families, endeavouring to escape. In the mean time, the tyrant having given his Albanian troops permission to plunder a city which he was unable to defend, the houses were immediately filled with a lawless soldiery. One of the first objects of pillage was the cathedral, where the Greeks, and even the Turks themselves, had deposited their most precious effects. Nothing was respected; the very tombs of the archbishops were broke

open in search of precious relics, and the sanctuary was polluted by the blood of the robbers themselves, as they disputed with each other for the possession of the sacred vases.—The city offered a most deplorable spectacle on all sides: neither Christians nor Mahometans were respected: the harems of these, and the gyneceons of those, were forced open, and displayed the cruel sight of modesty struggling with violence. Cries, and groans, and the crash of arms resounded on all sides, when a terrible detonation announced the destruction of Joannina. A shower of shot and shells, grenades and Congreve-rockets, spread carnage, fire, and devastation through every quarter of the town, for the space of two hours. Ali, seated on one of the bastions of his fortress, like the exterminating angel, directed the destructive fire, which soon levelled to the ground this once flourishing capital, with its public edifices.

Those of the people who could escape from the flames, carrying in their train friends and relatives, half-burned or mutilated by the explosion of the shells; women loaded with their children, and old men enfeebled by age, had scarcely passed the palisade of mount Pactoras, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the Ottoman army. So far from

protecting these unfortunate beings, who had escaped the carnage, these Rumelian hordes fell upon defenceless citizens, plundering them without mercy, and tearing their sons and daughters from their arms: uttering the most piercing cries, the poor wretches dispersed, and endeavoured to escape to the mountains; but they were there met by another set of plunderers and assassins, in the savage mountaineers, who had assembled to get their share of the booty. Despair at length gave courage and strength to the fugitives: some feeble women succeeded in passing the lofty chain of mount Olitzika into the plains of Thesprotia; others, seized with the pains of premature labour, perished in the forests; many young women, after having disfigured themselves by the most dreadful mutilations, that they might become objects of disgust to the barbarians, like virgin martyrs in the times of persecution, concealed themselves in caverns, where they perished of hunger; all the defiles and paths were strewed with wounded and dying men, or with their corpses: and thus, for the crimes of one villain, a city containing thirty thousand souls was overwhelmed with unutterable calamities."

And now, would the reader know more concerning the internal government of this wretched

country; let him take the portrait as I am able to sketch it from personal observation: for I have traversed no small part of these interesting realms, so rich in all the gifts of bountiful nature, and so despoiled by tyrant man: I have seen the pallid countenances and squalid forms of their wretched peasantry, worn to the very bones by labour, want, and oppression—I have seen blows inflicted by wanton authority, and borne with patient submission—I have seen those, who, by commercial or any other fortunate speculations, had amassed wealth, either careful to hide it from their rapacious tyrants under the external garb of misery, or dissipating it in prodigality, in order that they might secure a few moments of happiness, and then live upon the recollection of the past—I have seen rich and amiable families turned out of houses and possessions, at the caprice of a Pasha, who desired them for his favourites—I have seen whole districts so appropriated, after the inhabitants had been exposed to unheard-of persecutions, in order to make them *voluntarily* throw up their territory into the hands of a tyrant—I have rode over the ruins of large villages, scathed by the flames of destruction, because some reputable family had refused to deliver up a beautiful son or daughter, as the

victim of that tyrant's execrable lusts—I have seen part of the Turkish population, in a large city, armed against its Frank inhabitants, cutting and maiming with swords and ataghans every Christian they met with, on account of a private quarrel—I have seen large towns, professing the Mahometan faith, whose inhabitants had all to a man apostatized from that of their forefathers, to escape the inordinate exactions and oppressive cruelties to which as Christians they were subjected—I have seen rich tracts of country turned into deserts, fields languishing without culture, and cities fallen into decay, where misrule and injustice had combined with plague and famine against the constitution of society; and, as public immorality flourishes most and grows up to maturity under the reign of despotism, I have seen apostates, false witnesses, secret poisoners, open assassins, and all the other agents of unlimited tyranny, clothed in the spoils and rioting on the property of their unhappy victims. In short, I have seen a nation humbled, degraded, and abused; I have seen man, made in his Maker's likeness, reduced below the standard of the brute creation, living without civil or political existence, plundered without remorse, tortured without mercy, and slaughtered without commiseration!

Mr. Walpole, in the first volume, page 22, of his excellent *Memoirs upon European and Asiatic Turkey*, observes, "that the extent of this ill-modelled and ill-balanced empire, prevents any accurate inspection of the conduct of those who are placed over remote parts of it. A large portion of the revenue of the Porte, and the great officers of it, is derived from money paid by Pashas on taking possession of their government, or some occasional remittances made for the purpose of securing a continuance in their appointment. This money is drawn from the labour, industry, and commerce of the inhabitants of the province. If these sums are not paid, as well as those expected from the farmers of the customs, land, and capitation tax, the latter are thrown into prison, and the governors lose their Pashalics. If they are removed in a short time, the provinces are exposed to fresh exactions on the arrival of every succeeding Pasha." One may judge further of the deplorable state of Greece, by the picture which Mr. de Chateaubriand has drawn of Peloponnesus and Attica.

"Le Péloponèse est desert: on ne voit que des villages detruits par le fer et par le feu. Dans les villes, comme a Misitra, des faubourgs entiers sont abandonnés. J'ai fait souvent

quinze lieues dans les campagnes sans rencontrer une seule habitation. De criantes avanies, des outrages de toutes les espéces, ne cessent de détruire de toutes parts l'agriculture et la vie. Chasser un paysan de sa cabane, s'emparer de sa femme et de ses enfans, le tuer sous le plus léger prétexte, est un jeu pour le moindre Agà du plus petit village. L'Attique n'offre pas moins de servitude. On diroit que la Grèce elle-même a voulu annoncer par son deuil le malheur de ses enfans. En général le pays est inculte, le sol nu monotone, sauvage, et d'une couleur jaune et flétrie."

It is now time to discuss the motives which may induce Christian states to patronize a power like that of Turkey, a power, which, without their jealousies and political interference, would long ago have crumbled into dust.

Is it fear of Russia which forces European cabinets into such a measure? Is it in the empire of the Sultan that they would oppose a barrier to its aggrandisement? Vain hope! the colossus of clay will be kicked down, whenever it shall please the arctic despot to stretch out his leg. No alliances or treaties can long save such a power: other nations will only compromise their dignity and best interests, by

endeavouring to defend a state which is unable to defend itself; which refuses to adopt the arts or policy of more enlightened governments, and whose immutability is sanctioned by the dogmas of its religious faith. Look at the encroachments already made by Russia upon this impotent neighbour, and the provinces rescued from its grasp. Other despots may not have the *magnanimity* of an Alexander, especially when they shall command the improved resources and concentrated power of his mighty empire. Consider also the Greeks themselves: unless they be utterly exterminated, they will never remain quiet under subjection to the Porte: one insurrection will succeed to another, for each will spring from the very elements and principles of human action: it requires not any connection with the politics of Europe, or with the designs of its restless and ambitious spirits, to excite the Greeks; nor will they be repressed by any recollection of the past, or anticipation of the future. Having constantly in view the irritating picture of their own humiliation, illuminated by the increasing light of civilization, roused by their historical reminiscences and the animating associations connected with every hill and valley of their native land, how can they remain passive under the rod of iron?

No! One might as well endeavour to prevent the irruption of the volcanic matter after its combination within the mighty laboratory of nature: ages indeed may be required to prepare the effervescent mass, but a momentary shock is sufficient for its explosion. What then can prevent the Greeks, connected as they are with Russia by a common faith, by great mercantile establishments, by offices and emoluments which the autocrat of the north so liberally bestows upon them, from inviting his aid and imploring his co-operation whenever they may rise to throw off the yoke? What but the establishment of an independent Grecian empire, having rights worthy of defence, and privileges worthy of enjoyment? This, I venture to assert, would be the firmest barrier against all encroachment, whether Russia should endeavour to seize upon the whole, or should admit other continental states to a participation of the plunder: and I do not hesitate to affirm, that the atrocities committed by the infidels against their Christian subjects, ought to put them under the ban of the European confederation.

But I have heard it asserted that the Greeks are sacrificed to a mean sordid spirit of mercantile speculation.

It is thought more advantageous to deal with

ignorance and apathy than with enterprising ingenuity: the indolent Turk is easily cajoled, and exclusive privileges are obtained, which would be refused by a more active and enlightened nation: fit sentiments indeed for that most Christian government, by whose partisans they have been openly promulgated—a government, which, after solemn declarations, promises, and treaties, encourages the abominable traffic in human flesh, and, laughing at the simplicity of its neighbours, gains double advantages from their abolition of it. But such opinions are as much beneath the dignity, as they are adverse to the interests, of a country like Great Britain, which, from the spirit of its constitution, the temper of its people, the extent of its resources, and its geographical position, should invite rather than decline commercial competition. In spite of all exclusive privileges, I have learned from the most respectable sources, both at home and abroad, that the profits of our commerce in the Levant, have been declining for many years past: and what else can be expected from a country, through which depopulation and misery walk hand in hand? where the many are sacrificed to the few, who enjoy all the advantages of wealth, without that, which ought to be the necessary condition of obtaining it, active

industry; it is not from a paralyzed state like this, but rather from one where riches are generally distributed, that commercial advantages are to be sought: it is not with barbarians, destitute of all maritime knowledge or enterprize, attached to Asiatic customs, imbued with invincible prejudices against every useful invention of modern science, barbarians, have put to death every one of their Sultans who has attempted to introduce any innovation, however useful, into their ancient ordinances: it is not, I say, with such, that British merchants ought to desire connection, when the emancipation of the Greeks would open a channel of communication with a spirited, commercial people, whose manners, interests, and religion conform with those of other European nations: that people have already shewn what they are capable of attaining to in those insular maritime establishments, where, protected by position, and unmolested by the presence or interference of Ottoman tyranny, they have gradually formed fleets that have spread terror and destruction through the Turkish navy. The whole of Greece, emancipated from barbarian oppression, would become as Hydra, Spezie, and Ipsara; like South America, she would open a capacious mart for European produce: England would

be the first country to enjoy the advantages of this commerce, and as Greece has neither external colonies nor the means of acquiring them, she would seek their produce from Great Britain, whilst interest on the one side, and gratitude on the other, would cement the union of the two nations, and guarantee its durability.

But it is useless to say more upon this part of the subject, and the principal topic remains still to be discussed.

I am afraid that the standard of the cross, raised against the crescent, is thought a signal of rebellion; and that the throne of the Sultan is considered as fixed upon the basis of legitimacy. Gracious heaven! that terms should ever be so perverted; or that the epithet legitimate should be attached to tyrannic despotism! What allegiance do the Greeks owe these barbarian lords? If indeed to strip an unfortunate people of their property, to incapacitate them for civil or political appointments, to expose them to insufferable exactions and wanton injury, to leave them without guarantee for liberty or life, and not unfrequently to deliberate upon their utter extirpation; in short, if to attack and conquer them without provocation, and to preserve through four successive centuries the broad indelible mark of slavery between the conquerors

and the conquered, if this be to secure the duty of allegiance, then has the Sultan a right to expect support from the confederated Christian states.—But I rather believe that every liberal and unprejudiced man will think with me, that, since history cannot point out one solitary paternal monarch in the blood-stained annals of the Ottoman empire, that, since the sword of conquest has never yet been deposited in the hands of Justice, and no laws exist for the protection of the Greeks, to no laws are they amenable. Unattached to their conquerors by a single benefit, unacknowledging their odious dominion, unbound by a single oath, unrestrained by any bond but that of terror, and never having renounced the imprescriptable law of national independence, they retain the same right to rise against their ferocious tyrants, as when those savage hordes first crossed the Bosphorus to usurp the throne of the Cæsars: nay more, they have the strongest possible claim to succour and assistance from all Christian powers; and every philanthropic government would at least leave private speculation free, and furnish them with the provisions of war, instead of prohibiting such supplies, or granting them to their adversaries.—To denounce their patriotic struggles for the recovery of those rights on which alone

legitimacy is founded, as the efforts of rebellion, is political blasphemy, is an outrage against the law of nations and the law of nature; and the endeavour to detain them under the iron sceptre of their oppressors is not more unjust than it would be to replace Spain under the dominion of the Moors, the low countries under that of Spain, or the Russians under the yoke of the Mogul Tartars. Away then with flimsy jesuitical pretexts. What Christian nation can, what nation would, plead an alliance offensive and defensive with the Sultan? It is sufficiciently disgraceful to have formed any tie or convention with tyrants nurtured in ignorance and hostility to our faith, slaves to eunuchs and other vile ministers of a seraglio, who commit open outrages and insults upon the very ambassadors of European states, and consign their prisoners of war to the most inhuman treatment as criminals and slaves.

If the facts which have been stated or the arguments which have been adduced, are not sufficient to excite Englishmen, themselves the first-born sons of modern liberty, to patronize the cause of Greece, I should almost despair of moving them by the frequent and appalling massacres in Smyrna, Salonica, Constanstinople, and other great cities of the empire; massacres, which

affix almost as deep disgrace upon the Christian states which have permitted them, as upon the barbarians by whom they have been perpetrated. Still there is one transaction capable of moving every heart which the scorching breath of modern policy has not dried up and withered. I allude to the treatment of unhappy Scio. That beauteous isle, the favourite residence of the blind immortal bard, has been made almost one general sepulchre of its unfortunate inhabitants, a common slaughter-house, where the blood of every age, and rank, and sex, has flowed in one united stream. Yet why apply the epithet unfortunate to those who fell beneath the Turkish scymitar, whose fate it was to close their eyes at once upon their native hills and upon their own calamities? The lot of horror is to others, to the young, the beautiful, the innocent daughters of this once happy island, dragged from the paternal roof, from the tender care of beloved friends and relatives, from social happiness, from all the refinements of civilized life, and subjected to the pollution of vile barbarians, whose hands were dyed with the blood of all their dearest connections. The heart sickens at the recital, but it must be made.

Reader, to this happy isle, adorned by the

lavish hand of nature, blessed with peculiar privileges, free from the very presence of Ottoman barbarians, and subject to the mild government of its own elders, the richest and best educated Greek merchants or other proprietors used to retire; that, after having enjoyed in peace the fruits of patient industry, they might sink to rest in the country of their forefathers, and in the bosom of their families. The manners of the Sciot females were considered as elegant, and their souls as soft, as their features were lovely and expressive; the beauty of a Helen and the majesty of an Andromache, might have been observed among them at those festivals, when they were accustomed to realize the enchanting scenes described by ancient poets; when the aged folks lay reclined upon the enamelled turf, or under the shade of the overspreading plane-tree, to see their children, decked in garlands, lead the graceful dance and chase the retreating waves upon the shore, or welcome with their joyful songs the return of spring or the gathering of the purple vintage. Where are ye now, ye fairest flowers of Homer's rocky isle? plucked up and withered! gone into slavery worse than death, if death could be ten times repeated! sold, after the most horrible pollution, at a price less than cattle in a market!

to Asiatic barbarians and to African Moors. Gracious God! a tenth part of these atrocities in an unenlightened age, would have aroused all the gallant spirits of Christendom to avenge their wrongs! and shall we not only sit by tamely, whilst they are perpetrated, but suffer them to be exteded, as far as in us lies, to future generations and the most distant ages?

Reader, if you be a brother, a husband, or a father, I call upon you by those sacred ties of nature, I call upon you in the name of Woman, of her who exalts our joys and soothes our sorsows, of her whose weakness is her greatest power, of her who is the protectress of our infancy, the inspirer of our youth, the companion of our manhood, and the consoler of our age; if you desire your own island still to remain, as it hitherto has been, a sacred temple, on whose altar Virtue herself offers up the pure incense of congenial souls, I call you to discard your apathy, to exert your efforts in the sacred cause of liberty and religion, and preserve your fellow-creatures from worse evils than the exterminating sword of ruthless savages.

And you, the advocates of philanthropy in our senate, who have so oft proclaimed the sorrows and vindicated the rights of suffering humanity, who have extended the arm of

power to the relief of the captive African; why are ye now silent? I would be the last person to suppress generous feelings for human misery under any shape; but what are the pains of hunger, of captivity, or of death itself, what are the sufferings of the Indian slave, or Irish peasant, compared with those horrors which overwhelm the wretched daughters of unfortunate Greece? Speak out therefore in this cause, or boast no more your philanthropic sentiments! By those virtues that distinguished our brave ancestors—by the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which we ourselves enjoy—by that sacred ensign, the Cross of our Redeemer, which is degraded and despised—by Him who died upon that Cross, and taught us in our prayers to address his Father as our Father—and by that paternal God, who may possibly permit these evils to exist, for this, amongst other inscrutable reasons, that they may excite in us a spirit worthy of our high calling, speak out, that our national honour be not further compromised, and the stain of everlasting disgrace stamped upon our annals. Ye must know the cause which is now at stake—ye know that the struggle is between oppression, tyranny, and injustice, arranged against humanity, civilization, and Christianity.

If the former succeed, the Grecian name will in all probability, be blotted out from the list of nations, for the implacable infidels have sworn its extirpation: and if Christian Kings and Potentates should resolve that the Greeks ought still to be kept under the iron yoke of their Ottoman lords, I should only follow the Christian precept, of doing for others as I would they should do for me, if I prayed for their extirpation!

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

THE following heart-rending account of the massacre at Scio, appeared in the STAR, of the sixth instant, just in time for me to give it that circulation, which this pamphlet may afford:

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LEGHORN, WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN IN A GREEK HOUSE, TO A FRIEND IN LONDON.

Leghorn, June 18, 1822.

MY DEAR FRIEND

In my last, of the fifteenth instant, I informed you of the arrival here, on that day, of our countrymen, Mr. M. Rodocanache and Mr. J. Zizinia, from Scio. They had obtained their passage on board an Austrian ship of war, and had performed their voyage in thirty-seven days from Scio and thirty days from Smyrna. I know the anxiety you must feel respecting the deplorable situation of our unfortunate island; of that we are able to judge by the keenness of our feelings on the subject, and as these two

friends, came direct from Scio, and had been witnesses of part of the horrors committed there, I hardly left them for two days, during which time they gave me the following vivid picture of the misery of our dear country.

It was on the eleventh of April that the Capitan Pasha landed several thousand men; but the Turkish fleet had scarcely hove in sight when the commander in the castle began bombarding the town, and from that time till the day of our departure it was one continued scene of murder, conflagration, and plunder, both in country and town; nor were they even satisfied with the ravages the fire made upon the houses; its progress was too slow for their fury, and the hands of men aided and assisted the raging elements. They took to the castle about eight hundred of the gardeners of the principal and most respectable families, whom, by dint of threats of instant death, and promises of liberty, they forced to confess, as far as they knew, where any property had been hid. In almost every garden, at six or eight yards distance, were seen pits dug, for the purpose of grasping the supposed concealed treasure. All the women were sent into slavery; the men and male children above twelve years of age, were massacred; the children of the tenderest age, and the

most beautiful from among the young women, they sent on board the ships with great pomp and solemnity, under a salute of guns; they performed an operation on the male children in token of conversion to the Mahometan faith, and then sent off the children of both sexes by land to Constantinople, by way of Smyrna, under an escort of a body of Turkish soldiery. Two regiments of Turks had assembled and shut up in a place in the country about seven hundred persons, chiefly peasants, whom they meant to divide among themselves as slaves; but not being able to agree in the partition, began disputing: an Iman or priest, more humane than the rest, expostulated with them upon their dissentions, and exhorted them to concord, when one of those savage brutes, exclaimed, "that the only way to avoid dissention was, to put them all to the sword,"—and to the lasting shame of the human race, in less than half an hour all those innocent men were put to death. Others of these butchers had in their possession four families of distinction; the women and children they sent to the city, and the men they bled to death as sheep, in a slaughter-house, near which they were passing at the time. One of these unfortunate beings, to whom they had not given a mortal stab, was left to linger out

his existence, in excruciating agony and pain, for two days. But what will you say of those innocent and young children who have fallen victims to the most horrible death, caused by the brutal conduct of the monsters in whose possession they fell! By all we have been able to gather, it appears that from the very moment the Turkish fleet was destined for Scio, the total destruction of the island, and annihilation of its inhabitants were resolved upon, without any examination of their culpability or innocence. On the 8th of May, the Pasha ordered thirty-five respectable men that he had on board to be hung up to the masts, which served as a signal to the governor of the castle to do the same with eighty-five hostages, ordering at the same time the eight hundred gardeners who were still in custody to be strangled. From the 10th of May, on which day we left Scio, there has been no cessation to murders, conflagration, and enslaving, with all their accompanying ferocity. Do not be surprised if you hear that there have been nearly sixty thousand Turks on the island; the report of the numerous and rich spoils of those who first went over, the sight of gold, silver, jewels, shipped off by the captors to places of safety, enticed over a horde of these barbarians thirsting for Christian blood and

plunder. The number of the slain amounted on the 10th to twenty-five thousand—of captives to thirty thousand. Those who have saved themselves by flight are comparatively few; those who already have reached the continent, and those immediately expected, are the only ones saved; all the others you may reckon among the dead or the captive. Those even who have escaped from the Turks, must soon fall a prey to famine, as they are lurking about the mountains, without food or raiment. How we have escaped we hardly know, it seems like a dream, but the Divine Providence assisted us, having so many dangers to encounter, and being so well known to the Turkish inhabitants of Scio, it was only changing clothes, and being accompanied by the Austrian Consul, that saved us. Together we traversed the city, or rather hell, for the whole of the way was strewed with dead bodies of men and carcases of animals.

The walls of our beautiful houses built with black Trojan marble alone remained, and in them were seen figures of women and children, pale, wan, and emaciated, waiting in morbid despair till they should be transported as slaves on board the Turkish vessels. Methinks their cries, sighs, and lamentations, are still in our ears, as they implored the consul, for the love

of Heaven, to take compassion on them, not to deliver them into the hands of their worst foes, not to leave them in the power of those who would force them to embrace the Mahometan faith. Oh! how agonising were our feelings then! But, alas! what could be done to save them? It was thus through scenes harrowing to the soul that we at last reached the ship, that was to convey us to Smyrna: yet, as if our cup of affliction and danger was not yet full, we unexpectedly found on board this vessel thirty-four young women of the heads of families, on their way to Constantinople, by way of Smyrna, sent thither by the Pasha, as presents to the Grand Scignior.—Many of them we were personally known to; the least sign of recognition on their part would have immediately discovered us to their Turkish guard, and our lives would have been forfeited; it was with the greatest difficulty we veiled our features from observation, keeping all the day below decks, and only for a few hours in the night breathing the fresh air on deck; at last we reached Smyrna, were immediately transported on board the Austrian ship, and finally arrived here. But what tongue can utter the perils and dangers of every kind we have been exposed to? 'Tis God, and God alone that can give aid and consolation to this humiliated

persecuted race of beings; those that are gone to another life are the most happy; it is the enslaved survivers that claim our pity. These are, my dear friend, the gloomy accounts that the above esteemed friends gave me. I have heard, and now tell you with a bleeding heart and a tear-fraught eye, that my poor father and uncle were among the hostages. Oh! God, what a blow! A vessel has just arrived from Constantinople, giving us the advice of the execution there of ten hostages; will this never have an end! I really can write no more, I feel so sick at heart. Adieu.

A letter in the French papers from a young Greek at Smyrna, dated the 19th of May, gives some additional particulars respecting this dire event. The writer calculates that forty thousand individuals have either been murdered or sold to slavery. He says—

Throughout the opulent Scio, only fifteen houses are standing, containing our mothers our sisters our daughters, reduced to the most dreadful slavery. There the monsters profane every thing to gratify their rage and their passions; and often the virgins whom they have

sullied by their embraces, receive from themselves the death which they wish for. All the chateaus which rendered our island the most agreeable in the Mediterranean, our academy, the library, the superb edifices of Saint Anaigiroso, Saint Victor, the Apostles, eighty six churches, and upwards of forty villages, have been consumed by the flames.

The ferocious incendiaries then scoured the mountains, and the forests, and they are now at the twenty-fourth village of Mastic.—These tigers, a thousand times more cruel than those of the forest, have vented that hatred upon the dead which they bear to the living. They opened the tombs, and threw into the streets the bones of our fathers, and the corpses of their own victims were dragged by the feet through the brooks.—Every day women of the first families in the island are exposed to sale in the public markets; articles of great value, such as the sacred vases of the Greek and Catholic Churches, and the habiliments of the priests, are by these wretches sold at a vile price.

SLOMAN, Printer, Yarmouth.

THOUGHTS ON THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

GREEK REVOLUTION.

BY

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, Esq.

La sagesse n'est que la mesure.—Mad. de Staël.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXII.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Northumberland-court.

PREFACE.

IMPATIENT to protest against doctrines which I only met with a fortnight since in Mr. Hughes's "Appeal" and "War in Greece," I have hastened to the goal without prancing about in periods; anxious to write fast rather than well, and to procure justice for the cause, not celebrity for the advocate, of Greece. I have no time for an operation of such length as shortening my statement, or even for softening down what may offend those, who have been just confirmed in making religion an engine of persecution, by seeing the Catholic peers again exiled from their birthright, because they will not purchase the boon of justice by apostacy. If I have alluded to sconcing

those short commons of spiritual food, or, (since God sends meat * * * * * * * *) of spiritual cooks, on which the Irish episcopalians contrive to keep their souls alive; or have fancied the spoliation worse than the conversion of heretics, and an overfed hierarchy as bad as a sanitary inquisition; or have neglected to forget, that of the fugitive priests whom England charitably fed, some had been prelates wealthier and mightier than even "the primate of all Ireland;" I hope that these interwoven heresies will not prejudice the English jury against my clients. A man linked with no party, and privileged by insignificance to vacillate, may outgrow such morbid sentiments, but I am too new to authorship to have yet learned to hide them. An Englishman, and a protestant, may surely blame a system which degrades England, and almost desecrates Christianity, without denying the worth of many individual Irish clergymen, or assailing the English church; whose debtor and creditor accompt to the public good shows, in England at least, a balance in its favour; and

which clinging to the fabric of the state, and growing out of the foundations of property, cannot be roughly handled without shaking both. But there are alteratives, which might calm the inflammation of Ireland; and a reform, which would not amount to revolution.

I have spoken contemptuously of Austria, for I had to consider her dealings with foreigners, which are usually tyrannical and mean; had I reviewed her domestic policy, I should have said, that exacting from her subjects the obedience of children, she treats them with the mildness of a parent; and that her system of suffocating intellect like an enemy, and treating men as infants, may suit a population better fed than taught, though it irritates those restless and sensitive Italians, who are suffering so severely for the crime of not being a homogeneous impenetrable mass.

I should have been more diffident in passing judgments, if I had originally meant to prefix to these pages a name, which forms their sole chance of attracting attention.

If any critical Ibis, whose beak checks the plague of literary serpents, should pierce this minute ephemeral production, though I may shrink from that sensitiveness, which the earliest and deepest trials of sensibility cannot raise us *quite* above, I shall never repent trying to redeem the character of England, and to promote the interests of Greece.

Portugal-street,
August 3, 1822.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

GREEK REVOLUTION.

WHEN I heard that a writer of some eminence had taken up the cause of the Greeks, and that an animated and eloquent Pamphlet had appeared from the pen of Mr. Hughes, I fondly thought that their case was at length fairly laid before the English nation.

Having read Mr. Hughes's appeal, I feel dissatisfied with pleadings so partial and impassioned, and regret that his name should confirm, and his language embellish, the prevailing error, that the present struggle is an attempt to drive the Turks out of Europe. Mr. Hughes not only assumes this, but he assumes, that it is an easy and desirable operation. Has he really reflected what it is to expatriate

millions of our fellow-creatures, women too and children, who, though innocent of the guilt, must be involved in the general condemnation? Does Mr. Hughes consider only where the two populations are interwoven, that the scenes which he has so eloquently described occur?—That Rumelia is inhabited chiefly by Turks, and that "the Aga* or Turkish country gentleman," is not every where a faithful original of "The Saracen's Head," for which he has made him sit? That in the paroxysms of national anarchy, the innocent and helpless suffer, while the able and ferocious fatten on the spoil; nay, that the mass of the people suffers misery, without participating in guilt? Thus it was even in the French Revolution, when men are generally allowed to have approached nearer to the nature of dæmons, than at any other period in the history of the world.

Does he reflect, that it is no such easy task to root up an enormous population, and re-plant it in another quarter of the world? And that his colossus of clay could scarcely be lifted up by Minerva, and set down quietly in Anatolia? But if it cannot be done quietly, how will he effect it? Would he have the horrors of Navarin and Tripolizza

* *Vide* Lord Byron.

repeated, aye, and multiplied *a thousand fold*?' Does he reflect how much more dreadful the warfare of two armed populations is, than the regulated destruction of stipendiary armies? That the soldier, who is paid to kill his fellow-creatures, at twelve kreutzers, or at fourteen-pence a day, is the least terrible of belligerent animals?

But Mr. Hughes not only approves of this *sweeping clause*, this vast *cathartic* for a diseased country; he holds that all European nations, and we in particular, are bound to assist in administering the dose: "I do not hesitate to affirm, that the atrocities committed by the Infidels against their Christian subjects, ought to put them under the ban of the European confederation." Did the Allied Powers, during the worst scenes of the French Revolution, ever pretend to make war on the French, because their crimes put them under the ban of Europe? Did not their doctrines and conduct, as tending to revolutionize other governments, form the ground of that war? and, until this result was apprehended, were they not suffered to indulge their propensity to noyades and fusillades, and to enjoy their mechanical discoveries of the guillotine and the soupape in all peace and quietness? And is Mr. Hughes pre-

pared to say, that the enormities of the Turkish Government are likely to encourage the Caravats of Ireland?

Suppose the Mufti, (or Mahometan "Primate of all Turkey" had, in 1649, declared by a fetfah, that the cruelties which the British conquerors, under their chief Cromwell, were committing on the Irish*, put them under the ban of all Islamism, and that Mahomet the IVth, *then* as powerful as George the IVth is *now*, ought to send a fleet of Caravels and an army of Janizzaries, not merely to assist in obtaining for the Irish what has been subsequently granted them, but to drive the savage Normans, who, six centuries before, had occupied the Saxon kingdom of England, back into Normandy—How would Mr. Hughes, if writing the history of that period, speak of that Mufti's fetfah, and does he not fear lest some future Columbian Gibbon should say of his pamphlet and proposal: "of the Greeks foolishness," or, if Syntax be an author then read,

"Eloquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum?"

There is no reasoning so fair as *argumentum ad*

* "He entered the city of Drogheda by storm, and indiscriminately butcher'd men, women, and children; so that only one escaped the dreadful carnage to give an account of the tragic scene."

GOLDSMITH, vol. iv. p. 322.

nationem, no rule so infallible as, "Do as you would be done by."

Mr. Hughes's mode of bringing about this just and feasible result is worthy of the object itself—he says: "I do not hesitate to affirm, that the atrocities committed by the Infidels against their Christian subjects, ought to put them under the ban of the European confederation."

Is Mr. Hughes aware of the full meaning of what he has thus not only written but printed, not only printed but published? Does he, as an English politician and a Protestant divine, mean that all treaties with Mahometan powers are null and void? Would Mr. Hughes send off circulars from the Foreign Office to recal our agents in Persia, Africa, and India, and orders from the Admiralty to fit out ships at Portsmouth against all "who are nurtured in ignorance and hostility to our faith?" Would he copy the very words of his prayer book into the letters of marque, and decree lawful prize against all "Jews, Turks, Heretics, and Infidels," whom he seems more disposed to exterminate than to pray for? "Away, then, with flimsy, jesuitical pretexts. What "Christian nation can, what nation would, plead "an alliance offensive or defensive with the Sultan? "It is sufficiently disgraceful to have formed any tie

"or convention with tyrants nurtured in ignorance "and hostility to our faith, slaves to eunuchs and "other vile ministers of a seraglio, who commit "open outrages and insults upon the very am- "bassadors of European states." What "flimsy "jesuitical pretexts" does Mr. Hughes allude to? He has mentioned none. He must surely mean that famous jesuitical excuse for breaking treaties: "*Fides cum hereticis non est servanda.*" That was *indeed* a dangerous and odious dogma. I do not wonder that Mr. Hughes, as a Protestant divine, should allude to it with severity, since *his* more orthodox doctrine is, that agreements with infidels are not voidable but void. This improvement will alleviate our financial difficulties by settling at once the claims of the Jews upon our funds. Of all the odd charges which are every day brought against ministers, this is the strangest. It seems that they have been guilty of making treaties of commerce with people of a different religion from ourselves; that they have aggravated this first fault by observing them; and that they can now only atone for such multiplied guilt by forthwith breaking them. We are to go to war with the Turks, says Mr. Hughes, because they are "slaves to eunuchs." What have we to do with the qualifications

or disqualifications that the Turks think necessary in a cabinet minister, any more than they have with our tests and oaths of supremacy? If the virtue of a Turkish Chancellor of the Exchequer, is owing to necessity rather than choice, are we so enamoured with the memory of an immaculate minister that we must make war upon them for it?

The great error of the Turkish policy has been prostituting the immunities of an ambassador, and letting every insignificant consular agent, Greek or Frank, not only defy the laws of the whole Ottoman empire, but privilege any number of its subjects.

I like the old English proverbs, "fair play is a jewel," and "give the devil his due;" I would not withhold it even from a Turk, and therefore I think Mr. Hughes's way of inserting traits of individual ferocity ill calculated to give the English public a fair view of the case. It is a mode of appeal equally available and equally inconclusive on both sides. I object to a sentence of outlawry against the Turks, on account of the destruction of Joannina, as much as I should to one against the Greeks for that of Tripolizza and Navarin. I am more anxious to soften the minds of my countrymen towards the Greeks than to inflame them

against the Turks. Mr. Hughes's pamphlet does him great honour as a writer, but he does not want it, for he has already earned and obtained a high literary reputation: it will do great harm to the Greek cause, which has been sufficiently injured in this country by the misrepresentations of its advocates.

This wild scheme of at once driving the Turks from Europe, had been before inculcated with equal vehemence by the author of "War in Greece," a work of whose technical merits I am not qualified to speak, but whose spirited and vigorous language is no less calculated to mislead, than Mr. Hughes's beautiful and finished periods; for, it is no small aggravation of the mischievous tendency of these two addresses, that they are both in their several ways remarkably well written. This author is more decisive in his opinion than even Mr. Hughes. He says: "The European cabinets have however a simple and just course to steer, it is *with conjoint and equal forces, to drive the Turks out of Europe;* giving to Greece a sovereign and a constitution, and then *evacuating the country.*" Simple enough! though I apprehend that the country will have been sufficiently evacuated by the effects of the first part of this remedy. Without saying a word more about

the duties of sovereigns towards their fellow-creatures, or even towards their subjects, and considering only the practicability of the proposed measure, I am surprised that such disinterested destruction of the Turks should be contemplated by an author, whose opinion of the necessary selfishness of all governments is so strong, that he says, only a few pages before: "Had not the loss of three hundred thousand of the best French troops taught England that she could not play the same game, the crowns of Spain and Portugal would probably have been added to that of Great Britain, under as plausible pretexts as are used in the appropriation of the territories of Indian legitimate sovereigns. I do not find fault with the practice, I only mean to say that such are the principles on which nations generally act." I am sorry that any Englishman should think his government so wicked, his countrymen so foolish, or his sovereign so unlimited as to give a moment's plausibility to such a wild idea; but I am glad that he has administered this previous corrective to his new medicine of a constitution which Foreigners are to prescribe. I confess, I doubt the universal efficacy of this fashionable specific for all national disorders, but at all events the best ingredients in a

constitution will be inoperative unless it is the choice of the people upon whom it is to act; for constitutions are like plants; they thrive or wither according to the scite and soil in which they are planted, and experimental gardening in this life is both uncertain and unsafe; nor would even earls of Thebes and Sparta, and county members for Argolis, and Messenia, render Greece a bit more like England.

This is not an age in which a crusade will take; "*Le bon ton d'aujourd' hui c'est d'être blasé sur tout;*" and Peter the Hermit, if he appeared here where our regular radical and methodistical establishments at once outbid and undersell all incidental mountebanks, would probably be put into the stocks. *Now*, when Adventure, instead of being clothed in danger, and associated with Enterprise, and courted by the young and gallant spirits of the day, counts among her errant knights only the couriers of Messrs. Rothschild, or Baring; *now*, when Commerce no longer needs the gallantry of war, and war itself is conducted by dint of loans, and on the strictest commercial principles; *now*, when the most glorious successes of the Greeks would only make the pulse of the money-market beat high, and consols, not hopes and sympathies,

advance; not even Lady Patronesses could carry a crusade. Nay, though the crusades of old, by banishing and impoverishing both kings and nobles, raised the people, and sowed the seeds of freedom throughout Europe, promoted trade, augmented knowledge, contributed to make one family of many nations, and, like the study of alchymy, produced a host of unsought and unexpected advantages, yet the wild romance which prompted them is in our opinion hardly even thus redeemed. I am not abusing the nineteenth century; on the contrary, allowing for domestic life being the scene of virtue and affection, and for the existence of nations being checquered with wars and massacres, I believe that there is just now rather less political folly and wickedness in the world than usual.

I regret too that the author of "War in Greece" should have suggested young Napoleon as a sovereign for the Greeks. For the mere idea is calculated to damp the benevolence of the English public towards them; and the realization of it would probably excite the jealousy of Europe, and involve them in future wars.

The only reason for young Napoleon's being so frequently recommended to insurgent nations, who are supposed to be looking out for a sovereign, is

the supposed probability of his resembling his father; but it is a strange infatuation to desire again the infliction of a conqueror, a second edition of one, who sinned more in leaving undone so much practicable good, than even in effecting so much positive evil. Europe has had quite enough of the Buonaparte breed, whether considered as a dynasty of usurpers, a gang of plunderers, or a club of upstarts; and I hope the cant about sparing the fallen, and "de mortuis nil nisi bonum," and so forth, will never level the immoveable boundaries of right and wrong, shield a character which is historical property as a warning rather than a model, or make us more indulgent to a tyrant on account of his extraordinary talents, than to a tiger in favour of his enormous teeth. The choice of young Napoleon, as the sovereign of Greece, is as little contemplated by the Greeks, and altogether as improbable as it is undesirable. France will continue to waste her diplomatique address in vain endeavours to procure him the ecclesiastical tonsure, and the Emperor of Austria will keep him, through justifiable fear of such a powerful neighbour as France, as a hand-grenade which he may throw at will among her restless and divided population.

When these ravings about turning the Turks

out of Europe furnished a silly newspaper with a great part of the nonsense it kneads up for the daily consumption of the public, and while the Greek cause was only made a scoop for spattering printer's ink over a rival; even this, to one who really wished the Greeks to succeed in their reasonable attempt, was sufficiently provoking. When such hallucinations found their way into the House of Commons, which, whether or not, as some say, it has ceased to pacify the people, and make them believe they tax themselves, is at least a speaking trumpet, through which the most insignificant proser may make himself heard over the whole world; when the advocates of Greece played into the hands of men, whose long possession of power has soothed them into an official temper, and sharpened them into an official tact, which baffles the superior speaking but captious and exaggerated tone of their opponents, of men, whose regimented and salaried mass opposes an unyielding column to the guerilla attacks of unpaid and often unarmed volunteers; it was still worse.

But now that this mischievous nonsense is brought forward with the influence of Mr. Hughes's name as a traveller, and the seduction of his language as a writer; while the Greeks as yet are only

misrepresented and not represented in England, I beg to protest against the doctrine before it spreads, and to disown, in the name of the Greeks, projects which are as deserving of reprobation, as they are liable to ridicule.

Little intending ever to venture on the stormy sea of printers' ink, I had still less idea that I should wield a pen for Greece, and thus:

> "Presume to lay my hand upon the ark
> "Of her magnificent and awful cause."

But all our mighty ones are silent; scarce a tongue, or a pen is moved, little is said, and that little ill calculated to conciliate public opinion. I shall be satisfied if this effort of an unknown and unfledged writer stings any older and abler head into a sense of shame for leaving such a cause to be defended by such puny hands.

I trust we do not boast in vain a Lansdown, a Grey, a Holland, a Brougham, a Mackintosh, and a Tierney; men who have ever been ready to advocate the cause of sufferers, without that nice and jealous investigation into their quantum of desert, which ultimately hardens every heart, and is but an excuse for selfishness. I am aware they can but little influences the measure of the Go-

vernment; that like every moderate party they are respectable and weak, in a country divided between Tories and Reformers, between those who would support things as they are at any rate, and those who would change them at every risk. But it is the apathy of the people, not the conduct of the ministry, that I blame; if the Opposition cannot direct that taxing and funding piece of mechanism which we call Government, it may inform and rouse the English public; for the House of Commons still retains what it has not yet deserved to forfeit, great influence over the opinions of the nation. Though Parliament may be more influenced by than influencing the existing ministry, that little oblong room, utilized as it is by the blessed accident of it's gallery and the illegal toleration of it's occupiers, is the sensorium of the universe, and the head-quarters of opinion. If it is a safety valve through which national discontent escapes, and which has not yet been choked by all the smoke and vapour perpetually rolling through it, It is, like Jupiter's barrel, a receptacle for the petitions of the whole world; it is the tribunal of final resort for nations, the sanctuary of thought, the asylum of the persecuted, where the armed tranquillizers of discontented states cannot penetrate,

and where the mazes of diplomacy cease at length to shield the oppressor, or tire down the oppressed. Will they not wield a weapon, which half a century's majorities have not deprived them of?

It is by thus advocating with indiscriminate generosity the cause of all who suffered, that they have often extorted the applause even of those to whom they appeared captiously, I had almost said factiously, to embarrass the Government which they could not guide. But public opinion has not yet struck the balance in their favour, and there never was a happier occasion for adding another item to their accompt than is here presented by a cause which, like the abolition of African slavery, need not incur the imputation of party-feeling or interest, but might be advocated on the purest grounds of universal philanthropy.

When a subscription for the relief of the Greeks, (a fair criterion of the interest which they had excited), was proposed last Christmas, the idea was received not only with indifference but ridicule, and public opinion does not seem materially to have warmed or softened towards them since. This appears difficult to account for; as their cause is at least interesting, and might have attracted attention if it did not command applause.

Many, especially our French neighbours, attribute this apathy to our being no longer so alive to pity, nor so enthusiastic for freedom; but I can not believe that John Bull, who has just given more than 200,000*l.* to the Irish, is less to remain to compassion, than when he extended his unsolicited charity from the Tagus to the Mosqua. Neither can I persuade myself that John Bull, who has been for some time roaring himself hoarse in attempting to persuade a not over-attentive Parliament to add even further security to the edifice of British freedom, is less attached to the cause of liberty than his fathers were. I think that this apathy, which, without at all altering *my* opinion of his warm-heartedness, disgraces him in the eyes of foreign nations, proceeds from the following six causes:—

1st, A bad opinion of the Greeks.

2d, The language of their partisans.

3d, An erroneous view of the interest of England, and

4th, Of that of Turkey.

5th, A misconception of the objects of the Greeks,

6th, A confusion of their cause with that of the Transdanubian Principalities.

I shall endeavour in this hasty address to remove

the prejudice which these six causes have combined to excite.

England cannot afford Greece the active assistance of her arms, but her approbation or blame are no slight weights to throw into the scale; this nation has long been the Areopagus of mankind, and the career of England, during the last quarter of a century, has raised yet higher her pre-eminence and her responsibility; for, without discussing the original necessity of our great struggle, the manner in which it was conducted, or the use which has been made of its results, those only who are blinded by early prejudice, or irritated by unsuccessful opposition, can deny that it has added to our national consequence. Let us not now for the first time incur the heavy charge of misleading the opinion of our species. Since taking up arms against the Greeks was as much out of the question as arming in their favour, we have already sided as actively as we could against them, by that sullen silence which in a nation enjoying and using a perfect immunity to speak and print is tantamount to condemnation. The public is bound at least to listen to a statement of their case, before it is irrevocably stamped, or rather branded,

with the stigma of our blame. Though a residence in Greece has in me added to the interest which the early studies of an Englishman create for all that bears her name, I am induced to advocate her cause more from anxiety to remove this obloquy from England, than from grief even at the sufferings of Greece.

I shall begin by examining how far *our bad opinion of the Greeks* is justified by what we know of their past and present state; for the newspapers, hostile to their cause, contend that they are too bad to deserve assistance. This charge divides itself intotwo heads; 1st, Their character before, (2) and 2dly, Their conduct since, the commencement of the struggle.

When the present revolution broke out, the Greeks had been during upwards of a century under a government, which, though I am not prepared to call it the most cruel, is certainly the most pernicious that ever afflicted a people; and they peculiarly exemplified the usual consequences of such a state. The national character, already debased under the eastern empire and the subsequent tyranny of Venice, sunk lower still. The total insecurity of property had paralyzed industry and enterprise; while habitual tyranny produced

deceit. The difficulty of printing confined literature to a comparatively small portion of the population; and the Greeks were, upon the whole, as far below their Western as they were above their Eastern neighbours. In England, however, we under-rated them, from causes which threw no discredit on either them or us. Our acquaintance was principally founded on the reports of travellers, who, excluded from most parts of Europe, saw them in precisely the most unfavourable point of view; in their own country, either cowed or corrupted by their Turkish masters, grovelling in the provinces, or caballing in the capital. There were very few Greeks resident in England, for besides the difficulties thrown in their way by the Levant Company, they, like the Jews, preferred countries in which there was little industry or enterprise to compete with and contract their own. (3)

Still I do not hesitate to assert, that there were, not indeed in Greece, where a Greek could neither be rich, nor learned, nor otherwise eminent with impunity, but of the Greek nation in Italy and Germany, more men of enterprise and information, than there were in Portugal during any period of that romantic and persevering attachment, which induced John Bull to keep her like a little worth-

less mistress, and to sacrifice to her interest the custom of 26,000,000 of Frenchmen; more than there were at the precise moment when his heart was softened, and his purse opened by the great Lisbon earthquake; more than there were when almost yesterday he fought for her, before her sons had been made good soldiers by Marshal Beresford, or tolerable citizens by their late revolution. There was, moreover, this material difference between the two nations: there existed no apparent excuse for the degradation of Portugal; she was protected by England, and unmolested by foreigners; she had the port of Lisbon for commerce, and the university of Coimbra for literature, and she did little in trade and less in letters; she had printing-presses on the spot, and she neither produced original works of talent, nor translations of the slightest utility. The Greeks, long before their present resurrection, had shewn great commercial enterprise, and an insatiate thirst for knowledge, under peculiar disadvantages; while they crowded the universities of Germany (4) and Italy, they had established many primary schools throughout the whole of Greece, and had printed in foreign countries translations of most of the European works of eminent utility. They had fer-

tilized the plains of Hungary and the Crimea by their industry, and peopled the expanse of the Levant with their sails. Individuals of their nation filled, with honour to themselves and to their country, high military and diplomatic offices in the courts of France, Russia, and Austria, (5) and several Greek professors occupied chairs in Italy. (6)

In Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, where the Greeks enjoyed a precarious municipal independence, where they received no encouragement but oblivion, and owed their purchased impunity of exertion, not to the benevolence, but the combined avarice and indolence of the Sublime Porte, the mere temporary removal of the dead weight of despotism had enabled the elasticity of Grecian industry and enterprise to rise from the prostration of ages. These barren rocks possessed numerous fleets and an extensive trade, while the continental defenceless city of Aivali was adorned by a college of three hundred students, and several magnificent hospitals; a lazzaretto, the great *desideratum* in Turkey; with other works of utility, was about to be built, when the present revolution broke out, and this city was burnt by the Turks, those of its 15,000 inhabitants who escaped from slaughter dispersing throughout

Greece, where, unless relieved by the hand of foreign charity, they will probably sink under the more gradual process of famine. The three islands are as yet untouched, and crowded with the remnant of those fugitive women and children, whom they at first received, (7) and with whom they are sharing their last morsel, they still remain examples of what the Greeks can be made, by a momentary relaxation of Turkish tyranny.

No where has an enslaved press treated the Grecian cause with more injustice and contempt than at Vienna. Austria, wearied perhaps by the monotony of paralyzing states once industrious and powerful, palled with unresisted destruction, recently indulged the whim of creating prosperity, and chose the city of Trieste in Istria for the scene of so *un-Austrian* an experiment; where, if this be an unavoidable evil to which she reluctantly submits in the more congenial pursuit of ruining Venice, she has at least the consolation of knowing that her policy is debased by the least possible alloy of good, since the decay of Venice proceeds far more rapidly than the growth of Trieste. Now, in this favoured spot, the Greeks, these barbarous and reviled Greeks, are by far the most conspicuous merchants, (8) and more than divide the merit of

creating Trieste, though they cannot dispute with Austria that of destroying Venice. I have no doubt that, previous to the destruction of "the sacred band" of 500 youths, (9) on whom the hopes, the future literary eminence of Greece, mainly rested, she possessed, not on her soil, yet under her name, *more* intelligent and cultivated men than (10) are to be found on the whole area of Austria's territories, from the Scred to the Inn, and from the Save to the Vistula; (11) for I do not include her kingly provinces of Lombardy and Piedmont, Rome and Naples; these she has not held long enough to quench entirely the glowing ashes of science and literature; besides, though she may curse them with the Austrian sway, she cannot brand them with the Austrian name. I shall scarcely be accused of blameable enthusiasm for Greece, since I make the literature of Greece, and that of Austria, the objects of a serious comparison; for the town of Geneva, scarcely larger than Southampton, has alone produced more eminent writers than the whole Austrian hereditary dominions; whose productions "*en fait de grands hommes*" have been confined to field-marshals and chamberlains.

If the Greeks were so respectable and prosperous,

It will be asked, why did they rebel? The present revolution *may* have been premature; they would *perhaps* have acted more wisely, though less gallantly, if they had bowed their necks a little longer to the yoke; but the occasion was tempting; and, if Russia renews the desertion of 1772, we shall be warranted in suspecting her of having practised the incentives of that disgraceful period; besides, these four bright points of isolated prosperity, only aggravated by contrast the sufferings of the rest of Greece, and threw over that unhappy country just light enough to make the *general desolation*, "*darkness visible.*" It was even uncertain whether the Turks had really pardoned industry and wealth, or whether they were only suffering these early fruits of partial liberty to ripen thoroughly for confiscation. I am far from eulogizing the Greeks; they are a people degraded and demoralized by a long course of misgovernment, for it is libelling human nature, to suppose any nation innately and incurably vicious, as much as it is outraging human feeling, to hold those only worthy of compassion, who deserve esteem. If the evil of degradation lies upon them, the guilt of it rests with their oppressors. It is shameless sophistry to convert the consequences of suffering into charges against the

sufferer, or the results of tyranny into an apology for the tyrant; for it is a maxim no less of universal justice than of English law, that no man is entitled to profit by his own wrong. Besides, the argument proves too much; for, according to such reasoners, the Turks should be bound by treaty to increase their tyranny and the consequent demoralization of their victims tenfold, and there would then be ten times as much reason for the Turks continuing to torment, and the Greeks to suffer. It is arguing in a vicious circle, to contend that nations are not to be delivered from a bad government, till they have shewn themselves worthy of a better; it ensures immortality to oppression; for the history of the world does not produce an instance of any people being regenerated and reformed by a bad government.

I will not quote the old instances of republican, imperial, and papal Rome, or Greece herself while free, or when under the successive tyrannies of Byzantine sophists, and Tartarian savages; but I will appeal to what is before our eyes. Does any reasonable being suppose, that a man born in Galway is necessarily more ferocious than if he had been born in East Lothian? That God created one for a civilized, and the other for a barbarous

pulation, or that nature is responsible for the difference between the two counties? Does any one imagine, that if we had saddled the Presbyterian population of Scotland with such a burthen of Protestant episcopacy, as we inflicted upon the conquered Irish, they would be now all meekness and good humour? That if the Scotch Episcopalians had 2-11ths of the land, and 1-10th of the produce of the entire country, to keep them in archbishops, bishops, deans, &c., &c., the Scotch would be a contented people? that, if the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland were, as a body, unprovided for, disowned, and almost proscribed, they would be deeply smitten with the love of church and state? Among the many reasons given for doing nothing, or doing only nothings for Ireland, has any one yet alleged her inferiority in civilization? On the contrary, though Milan or Mantua are still thought too barbarous to have deputies, Connamara, twenty years ago, obtained a virtual extension of the elective franchise, by those leaseholds, which thus anticipated the most obnoxious theories of reform.

To those who argue *against* Greece from what she is, and object to arguing *for* her from what she might be, I again say, look at Ireland and Scotland, and *there* see how justly a government

is responsible for the moral condition of the people. Successive sultans have effected in Greece what a series of parliaments, by that legislatorial omnipotence which can tax not only the unrepresented but the unborn, have done in Ireland (12); they have gained a complete victory over nature, though she struggled to resist the doom of misery with rebellious productiveness of soil and climate. Think what *Scotland* would *now* be, if we had made the almost hostile descrepancy of her church discipline, or her earlier attachment to the house of Stuart, an excuse for governing her *à l'Irlandaise;* think what *Ireland* would *now* be, if we had availed ourselves of the similarity between the Roman Catholic and the English hierarchies to extend a real impunity, the equality of advantages, not merely the relaxation of penalties, to conscientious error; and then judge whether Greece would be improved by liberty.

But granting for a moment that the Greeks are irreclaimable—is compassion a sort of mental quicksilver to mark the mind's graduated scale of praise and blame, and must we have a freezing point for our compassion? I do not call upon my countrymen to relieve the Greeks, because they are unblemished patriots, but because they are suffering.

low-creatures. I am not going to invoke the shades of Solon and Socrates, but I think that those who feel so deeply the beauty of a tragic chorus may feel a little the misery of an expatriated, wandering, starving, slaughtered people; that men, who have devoted the fairest years of life to the dissection of words because 2,000 years ago they were spoken by Grecian lips, may give a moment's attention to Grecian suffering; that colleges, which have spent hundreds in lexicons, may bestow a trifling mite on men women and children, who, besides the interest of speaking Greek, have that of writhing under wounds and hunger. And shall I again be told that they have no claims upon us? They have many claims; we are men, and they are suffering; we are Christians, and they suffer from the enemies of our faith; we are Englishmen, and they suffer in the pursuit of freedom. There are these, there are a thousand other reasons, why *we* should extend, and *they* receive, relief.

I COME now to a part of my subject from which I shrink; *The Conduct of the Insurgent Greeks.*

GOD forbid that I should become the apologist of such enormities as have disgraced the Grecian arms. If they had not occurred, I should be now imploring attention, not to their sufferings, but to

their unshaded heroism. I shall not imitate those who asserted that a British army, a disciplined British army, would have done as much; I shall only contend that the Greeks were stimulated by wrongs unprecedented in intensity and duration; that the mode of warfare at first precluded all influence of the enlightened few over the brutal multitude; that the cruelties which they inflicted, horrid as they are, were not equal to those which they endured; and, lastly, that they have made some atonement for the irrevocable past by subsequent deeds of mercy (13); it is this alone which now induces me to advocate their cause. Six months since I would not have employed even this feeble pen in their behalf, not even after the massacre at Scio had so depressed the scale of Turkish guilt.

The previous Sufferings of the Greeks.

The tyranny of the Turks, and the misery of the Greeks, have certainly been exaggerated by travellers; but are we therefore to treat them as ideal (14)? I wish to draw attention rather to the extent of woe which the Greeks endured, than to the degree of malevolence which animated the Turks; and I also

prepared to admit that much of this evil was the natural result of such a government, was endured by Turks as well as Greeks, and originated in the supineness rather than the tyranny of the Sublime Porte. But I conceive it would be difficult to establish a heavier charge against any government, than that it does nothing, and suffers a privileged class of its subjects to do every thing.

I am far from making a pandæmonium of the Divan; I do not even believe the Turks in general to be actively cruel, but their pure fatalism renders them singularly careless of human life; and, if they rate low the existence of a Mussulman, they rate still lower that of a Rayah. Still the Greeks, who were in perpetual danger of having their houses or their heads taken from them, found but little comfort in reflecting that the Turks were conscientious predestinarians; nor, when an almost invited plague was ravaging a city, were the Greeks comforted by reflecting that the absence of all precaution which introduced it was the noblest evidence of Mahometan resignation to the will of Heaven (15). The general insecurity of property applied to Turks as well as Greeks; but the Turks who seldom risked capital in improvements, who were more often employés than proprietors, and

of whom many were privileged by being enrolled in the army, suffered comparatively little.

It would be endless to explain the mutual relations of the Turks and Greeks, but some idea may be formed from the fact that a Turk was never capitally punished for the murder of a Greek; and that the Turks, who always go armed did not suffer this impunity to be a brutum fulmen, but frequently shot Greeks on very slight provocation. This gentleman-like nonchalance on the subject of Greek lives, was imitated by the Government, and a bill, which beats the most sanguinary of our game-laws, has ere now been in the Divan "read a first time," (though not "ordered to be printed,") for "the effectual extirpation of the Greeks." Many of the annoyances to which the Greeks were subject appear trivial, but they were grievous from their every day occurrence, as the most exquisite torture is said to be a succession of mere drops of water falling on the head. Among these Turkish drops of water may be classed the prohibition of wearing a turban, or red slippers, or bright colours. Travellers laugh at the anxiety of the Greeks to escape these privations, by purchase or office; but, suppose a case of analogy; that on the Conquest the Saxons of England were for ever for

bidden on pain of death to wear long coats, and that to this day, the distinction of the two races having been carefully kept up, their descendants walked about in short jackets. We at first suppose that only a boy on his admission at a public school could pine after long skirts and a falling collar, and this infliction of jackets would seem an inadequate reason for three-quarters of the inhabitants of England hating the other fourth; but if each jacket was an order "payable at sight to the bearer" for cuffs and kicks *ad infinitum*, we should cease to wonder at the wearers being irritated.

The language of the partisans of Greece was calculated to confirm the idea, that compassion for the Greeks implied disapprobation of our own government; and that every man who put his name on the list of subscribers signed a species of remonstrance to the English ministry. No inculpation upon the English government is thus implied, nor can by any just reasoning be involved. Our government has done precisely what, on similar occasions, it always ought to do. International law is necessarily a question, not of feeling, but of calculation. In assisting the Spanish Patriots ministers acted

more from speculation than enthusiasm; they spent money to promote the interests of England, not merely to advance the happiness of Spain. Political selfishness is an official virtue, and absolutely necessary in men who are responsible only for the happiness of their own country.

When I look back on our twenty years' warfare; on the inveterate perseverance, with which the pilot who not only weathered, but braved the storm, forced foes of millions into the legal and regal hands of advocates almost reluctant to plead for "the Bourbons *v.* Buonaparte;" when I consider how he bribed them to fight their own battles, and how bravely they bore defeat, in hopes that on the cause being ordered for a second hearing, they would get fresh retainers; I rejoice that ministers have adhered to a strict and stern neutrality in the struggle which is now desolating Turkey. While she is our ally, her insurgent subjects must be rebels, till success has stamped them patriots. But there was, last Christmas, a reason why even individuals ought not to have sided, though but by the expression of their feelings, with the Greeks.

We were then endeavouring to mediate; partiality even of opinion might have given umbrage to

the Divan, and have weakened our influence. This mediation is at an end; and there no longer exists a single reason, moral, religious, or political, why Englishmen should not pity and relieve the Greeks.

I come now to consider *the policy* of such individual assistance.

It has been said that the regeneration of Greece is contrary to the commercial interests of England. Were this true, I trust there are but few Englishmen who would purchase some additional tons of shipping by the extermination of an entire people. But the reasoning which supports this hypothesis, is as false as the feeling which prompts it is detestable. Our moral duty and our political interests go hand in hand, and universal benevolence is with us the most enlightened selfishness. We are the shopkeepers of the world, and it is our interest that our customers, the whole human race, should be as wealthy and prosperous as we can make them. Such reasoners should add that the recent vassalage of Greece ensured an immense demand for our steam-engines and chronometers, and such other articles as only poor and distracted nations can afford or venture to purchase.

It is indeed a strange assertion for the nineteenth

century, that anarchy and poverty augment the purchasing propensities or powers of a consumer. As the Greeks improve, our Levant Company will meet with more competition; but the stream of general commerce, in which Englishmen will possess the usual English advantages of superior capital and enterprise, will be greatly swelled. It is more the interest of companies that commerce should be exclusive than that it should be extensive, and their opinions should be therefore distrusted; but no absurdity is equal to supposing that a country can buy without selling to a proportionate amount.

All that the bitterest enemies of the Greeks have asserted be true, if the Turks are embodied angels, and the Greeks incarnate devils, it would be as easy to recal the past or to revive the dead, as to make the Greek and Turkish populations live together as before. Greece has drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and her fabled Lethe could not wash away the remembrance of all that has been inflicted or endured. We have recently seen how utterly incapable the Sultan was of protecting the Rayahs of Constantinople from the fury of their Mussulman fellow-subjects; and is he likely to possess more authority in his distant provinces,—

than at his palace-gates? The *municipal independence* of Greece would be an advantage to the Porte itself. The experiment has already been partially tried, and it will not be denied that Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara contributed latterly a greater revenue to the Sultan than before. At present, every 100 piastres raised from the Greeks detract at least 1,000 from the national industry, by the insecurity and irritation which they produce; and of these 100, not more than ten ultimately enter the coffers of the Sultan, so that the same change which removed at once from the Greeks 49-50ths of their burthen would double the profits of the Sultan. It is impossible to devise a mode of collecting the revenue of a country more onerous to its inhabitants and less productive to its sovereign than the Turkish, which does not even amount to the refinement of farming out the different Pachalicks. On the death or deposition of a Pasha, his successor is appointed by dint of bribes to the Sultan, the Vizier, *&c.*, and the money necessary for this as well as for his outfit, is borrowed of Armenians or Jews. In Turkey, money is lent *on mortgage* at from 20 to 30 per cent., and the added risk where the repayment of both principal and interest depends on a contingency of coincidences,

such as the honour of the Pasha and the continuance of his life and government, advances the rate to 50 or 60 per cent. The prolongation of his office is secured by similar presents, not to the government chest, but to the government officers; and, though the tribute of each Pachalick is fixed by the amount of the capitation, yet the number of Greeks being calculated according as the Pasha is in favour or disgrace, the estimate becomes accordingly either a bonus or a fine. Hence, after the military and judicial establishments are provided for, the usurer repaid, the Visier bribed, the Sultan pacified, and the rapacious governor himself gorged, very little remains for the chest of the empire. As the property of all employés devolves on the death of the possessor to the Grand Seignior, it may be thought that the wealth of the provinces is only absorbed by the governors to be ultimately squeezed out of them by their master; but there are so many modes of eluding this tyrannical law by the nominal dedication of land to the support of some mosque, or the investment of money in jewels, that its general effect is merely to render land and capital unproductive. The Sultan besides augmenting his revenue by the change

would ensure comparative tranquillity. Supposing the insulted legitimacy of the Ottoman Porte to have been gloriously vindicated, the women and children of the Greek nation to have been carried into perpetual captivity, or preserved only to eternal exile; the men, the young, the brave, the hopeful, to have been almost all destroyed, and the Te Deum, universally used on such occasions, to have been chanted "à la Turque" under the dome of Sancta Sophia, what becomes of the capitation, which the Turkish government levied upon those Rayahs who are now only heaps of whitening bones? Will not those who are insensible to the destruction of the Greeks, as fellow-creatures and fellow-christians, regret them as animals that, like the sheep in Wallachia, paid a head tax to the Turks? If they are indifferent to the blight of Grecian hope, will they not mourn over the disappointment of Turkish avarice? But this is not all;—the Greeks guilty of surviving will take to the sea which bathes the circumference, and the mountains which occupy the interior of their country, and, converted into pirates or banditti, will perpetuate the horrors of the present struggle, and nullify to the Turks the possession of this rich and beautiful country. The atrocities of the two parties

have been so nearly balanced, that I should be unwilling to sacrifice the Turks to the Greeks, and I think this, the only means of separating them, is an act of equal mercy to both. The Porte of course must have the stipulated tribute guaranteed to it by those who guarantee the municipal independence of Greece; and, as they are no more possessors of Greece *de facto* than *de jure*, I cannot perceive either insult or injustice in such a scheme, grounded on the inability of the Sultan to keep the peace between his intermingled Mussulman and Christian subjects, and proposing on the one hand the revived prosperity of Greece, on the other the augmented revenue of Turkey. In assuming that Greece could afford to pay a tribute higher than *the clear profit* of the Turkish treasury from her possession, I have not calculated the certain augmentation of her resources, when she is allowed to lay her series of golden eggs, instead of having what should be the nest-egg ripped from her unfeathered and lacerated bosom. I am aware that the Divan must be *compelled* to accede to such an accommodation, and that a Turkish Vizier will look upon a reduction of Pachalics with much the same eye that a prime minister here would entertain a bill for appointing no more viziers of Armagh

and Dublin, or miri-miramis of Derry and Raphoe(16).

Having considered the justice, I wish to say a few words on *the general expediency of the measure*. A Congress is shortly to assemble at Verona, and much is expected from the practised anatomists of the frame of Europe. I am not going to declaim on the fall of Venice and Genoa; much has been attributed to Austria and Piedmont, which is in reality owing to the natural shifting of the stream of commerce, and the previous dissolution of an empire questionably acquired, and in the instances of Dalmatia and Corsica grievously abused. Still there have been many mourners over the degradation of the two most high-born states of Europe; which had not even the credit of submitting to a gallant and victorious enemy, but fell into the hands of receivers of stolen goods, by that truly blackguard arrangement, which combined the gigantic iniquity of national spoliation with the petty shabbiness of private pilfering. But not content with strangling these venerable and decrepit republics, the combined sovereigns have suffocated their childish imitators, Lucca and Ragusa.

Now, though the moral guilt of injuring a large is greater than that of hurting a small state, there

was something in such unwieldly colossi as Russia and Austria uniting to crush Lucca and Ragusa, which suggested the idea of two giants laying their huge jolterheads together, in order to strangle a pair of babies. The allied sovereigns did a meritorious act in not only sparing Switzerland, but securing to her a perpetual neutrality, and they would gain still more credit by protecting a maritime confederation of Greek cantons, which might be a twin sister of the continental Swiss republic, and from being more out of the way would have a still better claim to perpetual neutrality. I wish this for another reason: from the manner in which this triad of sovereigns have with their great military spuds grubbed up every little plant of a republic, it really looks as if they were afraid of suffering a comparison between the monarchical and republican forms of government, and that each of these little lights, if they did not hasten to clap grenadier caps on them in the way of extinguishers, might communicate a flame to their own great empires. Now, I believe the monarchical to be an infinitely better form of government for extensive and fully peopled countries than the republican, and that a fair trial of the two will always bring reasonable people to this result. The regal authority is so useful an

invention, and kings altogether such an evident comfort, that it is foolish as well as illiberal to squash republics for fear they should look too tempting. It is besides totally fruitless: the great experiment is making in the other hemisphere, and under circumstances of most unfair advantage; for nine-tenths of the good, which we ascribe to the republican form of their governments, is owing to their population bearing a smaller ratio than ours to their productive territory. Whether or not a republic is best adapted to these vast incipient states, is a question which cannot bear upon the merits of any European Government; but I think that the sovereigns of Europe might easily, by their conduct, prove that great European states can beat America in prosperity, not in spite but in consequence of having kings. I regret the destruction of the few republics which remained in Europe; it has given republicanism a persecuted interesting air, and by making it a forbidden fruit has only rendered it more tempting. The more enlightened the inhabitants of Europe become, warned too as they have been by the example of the French revolution, the more convinced will they be of the utility of kings, and the more rationally attached to what reason and experience

prove to be best for their own interests; but they will never be frightened out of republicanism, nor bullied into loyalty, by seeing overgrown monarchies swallow up little inoffensive republics; and a Greek confederation encouraged by kings would be an honourable atonement to the manes of the slain.

The experiment of municipal without political independence has been tried in Greece, in the case of the Ionian Islands, and has upon the whole, answered. Great clamour has been attempted to be raised in this country against their efficient Governor, General Maitland, but as far as individually concerns him without much reason. When a little state is put under the protection of a large one, which large one is to give it a constitution, and garrison its forts with 3,000 men, the little state to be all this while thoroughly independent, every one must perceive that the word independence is "*vox et præterea nihil*;" and I cannot conceive either a Russian or an Ionian silly enough to suppose, that by independence was meant the impunity of doing whatever her septinsular ladyship chose; or that John Bull would have been so romantic as to take charge of a minor, who stipulated to have her own way. I have no doubt that it has been extremely galling to the Ionians to be prevented

from aiding their continental brethren, and the best and noblest feelings combined to irritate them against the restraints of their guardian Bull; but his protection has never been so useful to them as in this very instance. *They* have all the credit of restrained heroism, and *we* all the odium of handcuffing and muzzling the generous islanders; and in the mean time they have had neither plague nor Pasha among them. The Ionians certainly enjoy at present more of the forms than the substance of a representative constitution, and drink a diluted and far from inebriating draught of freedom; General Maitland, in his medical capacity, having acted the prohibitive part of Sancho's Baratarian doctor, and discovered that many things which the Ionians had a fancy for were extremely hurtful to them. But upon the whole, the Seven Islands have greatly improved under our protection; the best thing next to the substance is the shadow of freedom, and the safest preparatives for its exercise are its forms. Driving seven restive insular ponies in hand with rope harness and silk reins is no easy task; but hereafter, when the Levant is again tranquillized, ministers may select a more tender lullabying dry-nurse for these seven ricketty infant republics, than is imaged to the mind

by the idea of an English lieutenant-general. A civilian suits better with the sacred and diplomatique character which the lord high commissioner of the protecting sovereign should bear, and the union of this office with that of governor of Malta, while it is far from flattering to the republic in time of peace, would be extremely inconvenient during a war.

Still it has been unfortunate that at the only point where we politically come in contact with Greece, we have been obliged to act a cautious and unpopular part, and it is therefore the more incumbent upon the people of England to make up by sympathy and commiseration, for the unfavourable impression which the necessary coldness and almost harshness of our government has produced. Ministers have performed a painful duty; it remains for the English public to discharge a pleasing one. There is no prescribed neutrality of feeling, and compassion at least may enlist herself in the cause of every party and every country.

I come now to consider what, in their present revolt, is the immediate *object of the Greeks*.

Public attention has been so little called during the last thirty years to the map of Turkey, and I am so anxious to appeal to that great and respect-

able majority of the English nation, that depository of national feeling, the genuine John Bull, whose attention has probably been more often attracted to Turkey figs than Turkish politics, that I hope to be pardoned for stating, what many of my readers are perhaps already aware of; that Greece is by no means the largest province of the Turkish empire; and that if, for the sake of perspicuity, I compare Turkey in Asia, the early possession of the Turks, to England; conquered Turkey in Europe, to conquered Ireland; and, to Scotland, Egypt, Greece will about answer Wales, subdued, like her, owing to the civil wars of the native princes, (17) and equally mountainous, but more detached and inaccessible. There is no more truth in the idea that the Greeks insist upon exiling the Turks from Europe, than that the Welch ever determined to drive the English out of Ireland. The Greeks are struggling to force the invaders, who are quartered rather than established over their country, back into Servia and Rumelia, as the Welch five centuries since endeavoured to repel their English invaders upon Hereford and Shropshire.

The *Greeks* have risen in order to recover *Greece*, which the Turks finally conquered little more than a century ago, and which they

did not hold during the most brilliant period of their European empire; and I own, the Greeks possessing Greece would not seem to me more unnatural than that jocose truism, "The Dutch have taken Holland."

While I am on the subject of Turkish geography, let me add, that a natural confusion of the war in *Moldavia and Wallachia* with that in Greece has materially prejudiced the Grecian cause. There are no less than six broad marks of distinction between Greece and the transdanubian principalities: 1st. Their inhabitants are not Greeks, but Sclavonians of the Greek Church, which is equally the case with the Russians. 2dly, They being *flat* and *continental*, and Greece the most *mountainous* and *maritime* country in Europe, it follows that the former are not, like the latter, fit for a revolutionary warfare of Guerillas and cruizers, and that, while Greece once cleared of its oppressors is nearly impregnable, Moldavia and Wallachia must always be exposed to the armies of the neighbouring powers. 3dly. While Greece, lying completely out of the way and forming the south-eastern corner of Europe, is calculated by nature for neutrality, and affords not a single pretext for invasion, Wallachia and Moldavia bordered on every side by

the dominions of Turkey, Austria, and Russia always will be, as they always have been, the arena for those contending powers. 4thly, In Wallachia and Moldavia, the Greeks are not the natives but the invaders, not oppressed but oppressing. 5thly, The Greeks having been twice deserted by Russia distrust and fear her, while the Walachs and Moldavians, whom she has steadily protected, are deeply attached to her. 6thly, While the possession of Greece would give Russia a naval preponderance in the Mediterranean, prejudicial alike to the interests of England and Europe, Wallachia and Moldavia, not having a single league of sea-coast, can bring her nothing but some square miles of rich but uncultivated land. From hence it follows, that the principalities can neither remain nor even become a free state; that therefore a retrospect to their revolution and to the cowardice and treachery of their inhabitants is irrelevant here; and that all discussion as to their future incorporation with Russia, or prolonged nominal subjection to Turkey, must be deferred to some future page. Indeed, the only happy result as yet established by the Greek revolution is, that no Greek will in future be appointed hospodar; and that a stop is thus put to the further

operation of that instinct of mischief amounting almost to sagacity, with which the Porte, anxious to degrade alike its Rayahs of the south and north made the Greek nobles a handle for plundering the transdanubian peasantry, and the *caftans* of Dacia a gift, that, like the robe of Nessus, poisoned the nobility of Greece.

The great object being to separate two nations, who, while they live together, must make what I trust we have no English phrase for, "*un vrai ménage d'enfer*," (18) the first stipulation should be an equal encouragement to Greeks and Turks to leave respectively those provinces in which either may form a minority of the population, and the same scale must be fixed for valuing the land and property of both, or else each party will endeavour to exile their antagonists without any remuneration. This, though far short of what is so glibly talked of, the expulsion of the whole Turkish nation, is, I confess, a startling measure; but Englishmen must not judge of it by this or any other civilized country. Fatalism and the insecurity of property have generally prevented the Turks from vesting in the improvement of the country that accumulated wealth, which with them can hardly be called capital; and, excepting land which is mostly tilled by Greeks, the

Turks have but little immoveable property. The wealth of an Aga consists principally in furniture, horses, jewels, clothes, (all easily moved,) slaves, and (proh pudor!) women, once free and happy. (19) I trust, however, that the Greeks may be permitted unconditionally to release their countrywomen, unless it is held, according to the jargon of the day, that all Agas have "*a vested interest*" in those whom they have either kidnapped or bought from robbers, and that *the proprietors must die off* before their victims, then arrived at that age when beauties are most readily relinquished, can be restored to freedom.

If however the same scruples which necessitated the purchase of the rotten boroughs of the old Irish parliament, on pulling down that venerable political pig-sty, demand an equivalent for the rescued matrons and maids of Greece, they may easily be paid for with *the other fixtures* of the Sultan's "*Removing Tenant.*" The property of the Greeks, having principally sprung from commerce, is in general either actually floating, or capable of being removed by sea; and as most of it has e'er now been destroyed or torn up by the roots, the flotsom and jetsom of the universal wreck will,

without any convention, become the property of the strongest.

I am not suggesting that which will satisfy either Turks or Greeks, but that which is best for both; not all we should wish, but all we can reasonably hope; and at least this territorial compromise would stay the present daily waste of life and property, the endless misery inflicted and endured. It would be an experiment too on the capabilities of the country; a trial of the latent energies and virtues of the people; a criterion by which, in the event of another struggle, the European states might judge whether they ought again to remain neuter. Moreover, a power independent of Russia would gradually be created before the Turkish European empire, which is the only existing barrier against her in that quarter, was overthrown. (20)

The great misconception in England concerning the Greek revolution is this: we imagine the question to be, whether the Greeks shall throw off the Turkish yoke, or shall endure it patiently as before; the real alternative is, either for Greece to enjoy a permanent and guaranteed, though tributary and merely municipal independence, a medium between the recent situation of Hydra and

the previous one of Ragusa, or whether *one of the two nations shall be exterminated.*

The cause of Wallachia and Moldavia is not necessarily connected with that of Greece, but I introduce it here for two reasons:

1st. Though I desire an accommodation between the Greeks and the Turks, yet in the event of that being impossible, I seize with avidity the prospect of an inducement to Russia to interfere in behalf of the former; for it is not to be expected that she should put herself to considerable risk and expense *gratuitously*. 2dly. Owing to the superintending powers over the transdanubian provinces which Turkey conceded to Russia by the treaty of Koutzouk Kainardgic, and to the subsequent cession of a third of Moldavia, (being all that tract which lies to the east of the Pruth,) which made it necessary to diminish the tribute of Moldavia by a corresponding third, minute details on the finances of the principalities were furnished to the Russian cabinet; and they for the first time afford a specimen, which may be depended on, of the provincial statistics of the Turkish empire, and confirm what I said of them in a former page.

I own I am far from joining in the general cla-

mour against the Emperor Alexander. The possession of an inherited despotism is no crime; and the beneficent employment of it no common merit. Alexander may say, with still more truth than Joseph when asked his opinion of the French Revolution, "Mon métier à moi c'est d'être Royaliste;" and when in his flirtations with a bouncing blooming young Republic he asks for a bit of General Washington's walking-stick, this sentimental civility by no means pledges him to enter into the Russian red book, and with unwonted salaries, such grafts and scions as the Whigs can spare him for leader, whipper-in, speaker (against time), cougher in the bass, or soprano cheerer of the Imperial St. Petersburgh Opposition.

We have no right to expect that the Emperor Alexander should be interested in the Greek insurrection, except as it affects Russia; for it is preposterous to ask any government to do what is contrary to its interest, and the emancipation of Greece will not only do no good to Russia, but it will do her harm. She will lose her importance in the Levant, as the protector of the Greeks, and the power of terrifying the Divan by threatening to excite its Rayahs. If the Emperor

Alexander assists the Greeks, he will do it like Trapbois "for a consideration:" and an island in the Levant, which he would probably suggest as his consulting fee on the occasion, being a mode of payment highly objectionable to this country, but which we hardly could prevent the Greeks from tendering, or the Emperor from closing his fingers on, I see no better remuneration for him than Wallachia and Moldavia. The liberal politician will exclaim against the idea of inducing one nation to assist another, by making over to it a third; but a little of that coaxing, which royal Lotharios use to get coy virgin principalities *under their protection*, would make both Moldavia and Wallachia fly in defiance of all scandal into the arms of the great northern autocrat. Considerable familiarities have already passed between them, and even the maiden half of Moldavia may be considered as "*rather* married." (21) Russia has for the last fifty years pursued a kind and enlightened policy towards these principalities; and very recently by the treaty of Bukorest she procured for them the "septennial bill," instead of the former triennial and even discretionary appointment of Hospodars, which stimulated the natural

rapacity of each royal middleman, by contracting the time on which he could calculate for making something of his speculation.

She at the same period exhibited an unparalleled instance of consideration for the country, which she had been forced to make the theatre of war, by procuring for it a biennial exemption from all tribute; and, though the Turks, violating the spirit of the convention, frightened the Hospodar of the day out of a sum equal to the two years' payment, yet the loss being deducted from what he would otherwise have made, fell *not* on the province but the undertaker of royalty.

The frequent occupation too of these provinces by the Russian armies, and the preference which they constantly gave to their flat and fertile surface, have singularly endeared them to the inhabitants. The English reader must not be startled by this paradoxical assertion. He must not estimate the effect of a Russian army taking up its winter quarters in Wallachia, or the feelings of the Wallachian population towards their military visiters, by what English prosperity would experience from 200,000 Russians quartered from Canterbury to Newcastle; or what English patriotism would

feel, on seeing the Preobashensky regiment parading in Hyde Park, and the windows of the Guards' Clubhouse crowded with offs and iskys. A disciplined army, occupying for any length of time a very barbarous country, does more good than harm. There is little for it to destroy, much for it to improve: the feelings of a people, accustomed to bear the second-hand insults which a Vornik, Clutshiar, Logothett, or Medelnitsher, (22) receives from Tchiaoux's, Tchochodars, and other equally euphonious personages, are rather gratified than otherwise by the superseding despotism of a Russian commandant and the sight of well-dressed sentinels in their city.

Every one who has been much on the Continent must have observed, that the French armies, which usually subsisted on the contributions of allied or hostile quarters, were not remarkable for humility, and often had the bad taste, as well as bad feeling and policy, to insult the prejudices of their hosts, have yet left behind them more popularity than odium; merely because they spent the money that they took from the rich among the poor, brought the townspeople a band of music, and the girls plenty of partners; and above all, treated with

superlative contempt the authorities whom the mob reluctantly obeyed. A nation must be devotedly attached to local customs, jealously proud of national independence, and well pleased with its whole manière d'être, or an invading army must commit great enormities, to avoid leaving behind a feeling of almost affectionate regret.

All the lazzaroni and loungers of a fine climate are grateful for the event of an arrival, and deeply regret the parade, the music, the horses, and the general and the staff, when they are all gone, and the little town becomes its own dull self again. The Russians not only furnished Bukorest with amusements, but enriched all Wallachia by purchasing its exuberant produce; and in fact, most of the improvements, which have been made there during the last half century, will be found not only coeval with but consequent on its occupation by Russian armies. In short, the principalities felt like two publicans, gratified at having their tenement made the seat of a boxing match, with all its attendant consumption of beer, gin, and tobacco.

I come now to consider what the inhabitants would gain by a change. I take the governments of Wallachia and Moldavia, when refined and dis-

tilled into that pure rarified iniquity, to which they attained about half a century ago, to have been the acmé, the realized beau idéal of political corruption. Indeed it would be salutary for some of our patriots, who, on unearthing a politically-appointed gauger, roar out that our government is worse than that of Algiers, to peruse the authenticated accounts, not of the abuses but of the established usages of modern Dacia; where a fund for the support of the army was *not* made liable to the pensions of the Dons and Doniskas, but the entire sum having been consecrated, or rather profaned, to this new purpose, the shadow of an army was by sufferance charged on its own original appropriated revenue!

All this was gratuitous corruption; there were no refractory peers, or conscientious county members, to disturb the universal harmony; no Wallachian Wilberforce to head the Boyars; no treasury influence to be kept up at Galatz; not an ordnance borough on the Danube, from Widin to Ibraila.

The machinery of a somewhat responsible government may want oiling; large sums may be necessary to make a constitution framed with all the barbarous stubbornness of Runnymede *work well*, and to prevent *virtual* representation from be-

coming *over real;* but here there was no conflict, it was all wanton profligacy.

Moldavia and Wallachia were for political plunder, "*un vrai pays de Cocagne,*" where the reapers and gleaners were unmolested by daily, weekly, or quarterly devastations of *Times, Examiner, Edinburgh Review,* and all such typographical mammoths as are providentially unknown at Bukorest. It was a fair experiment how far an unchecked government will proceed.

During the last thirty years much of this was done away by the establishment of inspecting Russian and Austrian residents; by the "Hospodar Septennial Bill;" and latterly, by the restriction of these mimic thrones, to the four Fanal families of Mourousy, Callimachi, and the two branches of Suzzo. (23) But this amelioration only proves how much the provinces would gain, and how little Turkey would lose by their being transferred to Russia; for they have prospered in exact proportion to their emancipation from Turkey, whose rights were so restricted by the treaty of Bukorest, that she now derives from them little beyond the frivolous gratification of seeming to appoint two duodecimo monarchs, who mimic or rather parody the splendour of the emperors of the East.

The cession of countries, equal to Ireland in size and fertility, would be a bold suggestion, if the Porte was, or even pretended to be, their sovereign. Nay, if it had ever intended or even now engaged, not to make the best use of them, but only to remove all obstacles to the industry of their inhabitants, I would at once close the case here, by throwing up my brief; but I hope to shew that the Sultan neither does nor can prevent his droits de Suzerain from materially injuring the country. And I shall endeavour to support my proposition, not by copying whole columns of piastres with concomitant calculations of their partial and irregular depreciation, as long as this cluster of long words, but by giving some of the results. Wallachia became tributary to the Turks, under its Voivode Mirza, in 1391, and agreed to pay the insignificant sum of 3,000 piastres, which the Turks exacted evidently as a mark of homage rather than a source of revenue. The Porte engaged "to give protection to Wallachia, and to defend it against all enemies;" it has repeatedly evinced its inability to fulfil this engagement. It promised "to assume nothing more than a supremacy over the sovereignty of the principality," and to leave "the Voivode the right of

" making peace or war without having to account " for any such proceedings to the Sublime Porte." Moreover, the prelates and boyars were to elect their monarch, and the Sultan was to exercise the form of approving, not to possess the power of even objecting to their choice. Never was national homage more jealously restricted and defined, and never was a treaty more shamefully and systematically violated. If the Porte is sincere in its repeated declarations, it ought earnestly to desire the incorporation of both these provinces with Russia; but its apparent parental affection for them, is only equalled by its deep hypocrisy. Would the purity of Election have been much promoted if the English Parliament, instead of disfranchising the officers of the Excise and Customs, had passed a bill recommending to them a total disregard of their private interests, and an undivided anxiety for their country's welfare? Would the Irish proprietors have accepted, instead of a corn-bill, an order in council, in which the King was made to say: " My breast compassionating " greatly the situation of many farmers of Ire- " land, suffering greatly by the effects of *peace*, " I graciously condescend to issue my sacred

"order that the poor tenants should not be "tormented unjustly." (24) Nothing can be more amiable than the injunctions of the Ottoman government, and it always redoubles its usual tenderness in addressing these amphibious provinces; but it never provides the slightest security for its benevolent intentions being carried into effect, and each clause of a proclamation is generally nullified by that which follows. Thus, when the agents of the Capigi Bashee (or "Arch Butcher of the Empire") are enjoined to pay a fair price for the cattle which they are entitled to levy in Wallachia, the peasants are in the succeeding paragraph forbidden to sell them to any other person. To the commissioners of corn the Sultan says: "Let the grain be exacted with measure;" while in the next breath he forbids the owners to send it on board any vessels but those bound to Constantinople; and after these helpless attempts to relieve "the agricultural distress," less efficient than even our corn-pledging contrivance, he adds, with as much complacency as was displayed in the House of Commons: "Thus will the inhabitants of Wallachia be benefited, and gain." Every where the precepts which the Porte issues to its subjects

are equally excellent, and all provision for enforcing them equally deficient. The experiment of substituting the dominion of Russia for that of Turkey has already been made in Taurida and Bessarbia. The barbarism in which half a century ago these provinces were buried, the splendid success which has rewarded the efforts of Catherine and the present Emperor for their improvement, and the almost Tyrian opulence of Odessa, require no comment.

The waste of public money in Turkey is as endless as the titles of the Sultan; political profligacy appears commensurate with the plains and mountains of the East, and our military colleges and martello towers, our ordnance and barrack departments, shew like Highgate or Hampstead by the side of Caucasus.

In 1820, after the cession of a third part of the country, the revenue of Moldavia was 2,681,000 piastres, which, taking the piastre at its present value, $7\frac{1}{2}d.$, is equal to 2,145,000 francs, or at the present rate of exchange 84,200*l.* Of this sum there went to Turkey, as the fixed tribute, 65,000 piastres, and there were spent for the advantage of the country 90,000, being the sum devoted to the army,

and of which 20,000 was for foreigners, Bosniacs and Albanians, the Swiss guards of the delegated potentates of the East. The sum paid to Turkey and that devoted to the public service form together 155,000 piastres, and leave a balance of 1,990,000, or about 11-twelfths of the entire revenue, whose application cannot be traced to either of these objects. While the Moldavian "Budget for 1820" contains among other items 250,000 piastres, "Secret Service Money" at Constantinople, the chasm still left between the "Ways and Means" and the expenditure is filled up by presents to the Sultan and his Vizier, interest on money borrowed by his Highness the reigning Hospodar, to enable him to bribe his way to the throne, gifts to Greek sçavants who come to compliment him, &c.; so that, excepting a sum of 38,000 piastres given by the Princess in charity, the most useful and satisfactory item seems to be the balance which the Hospodar bagged by this contract for acting an emperor of the East in miniature. When we reflect that the English government in 1812, without impoverishing or visibly distressing the country, raised the greater part of 55,995,123 from a surface but little larger than that from which the most unrelenting extortion and severity could

only squeeze 84,200*l*, we may form some idea what a blessing freedom is to the government, as well as to the subject.

But if the revenue thus procured be puny, the misery it creates is upon a scale of real magnificence. The more important taxes are assessed upon each village according to its supposed population, and the inhabitants are left to settle what each individual shall contribute. If among the moral and orderly Norwegians a similar method is productive of murmurs and injustice, we may easily imagine *what partiality and oppression, what quarrels and emigrations* are produced among the demoralized Moldavians.

The taxes are of the most minute and vexatious kind, dwindling down to ten aspers (hardly a halfpenny) on the birth, not of a son and heir, but of every lamb. In short, if the Laputarian board of agriculture offered a premium to the author of the most ingenious essay "on the means of collecting the smallest revenue with the greatest possible injury to the contributors," I do not think even the inventor of the Irish hearth and window tax, could compete with these financiers of the Danube.

I have wearied the reader's attention, or (if he has been so unconscientious as to escape from me by

skipping the preceding pages) I have *tried* it with these details, because they are a specimen of Ottoman finance; the various Pashas and Voyvodes of that vast empire being only so many smaller Hospodars. But I have treated him with merciful moderation, and he might fare worse, if Providence, which ever couples the bane and antidote, and appoints the ichneumon to pursue the crocodile, were miraculously to turn Mr. Hume, during the approaching vacation, loose in the streets of Bukorest, to range and rout unchained among the shrinking papers of the *Vinaritt* and *Vamma*, to reform *loods*, to denounce *Sokotelniks*, to *question down* evocated *Caminars*, (25) *Logothetts*, and *Medilnitshers*, and returning unmuzzled in the ensuing February to St. Stephen's, to make its wretched inmates long for Munny Begum polysyllables, that would *now* sound by comparison "familiar to their mouths as household words."

Unfortunately these details, while they shew how little the Porte really profited by its Dacian provinces, unveil sources of patronage which its ministers will be reluctant to forego; but I should be disingenuous were I to conceal a better objection which may be urged: that they furnished Constantinople every year with about four months' provisions, and that without them the Turkish capital

would depend upon foreigners for food. This, however, is an additional motive for our desiring the cession; for my horror of tormenting even Turks does not carry me so far as to reject any innocent means of cramping their European power. Yet surely, when we compare the population of Constantinople and the extent of Asia Minor, once the richest and still the most fertile country in the world, we cannot doubt its capacity of supplying that food for twelve months which it now does for four.

The Porte would thus depend upon foreign nations only from choice, and might, by protecting duties and proper encouragement, secure this great source of wealth to Anatolia, which even now forms the body of its power and prosperity, and which, as it was the original, must hereafter be the ultimate extent of its empire. If the Porte chooses to leave its metropolis at the mercy of foreigners for food, it will justly incur an evil which it might not only remove, but exchange for a considerable advantage; but even then it will not be worse off than it is now likely to remain, whether the Greek struggle is prolonged for years, or the country, purified by the blood of all the cultivators who made it the granary and garden of Constantinople,

relapses ere long untilled and uninhabited into hands, which, however skilful in turning a paradise into a desert, have not hitherto proved effective in reconverting a desert into a paradise.

It would doubtless be most agreeable to the Turks, that Greece and the Greeks should again become what they were only two years since; that the fields which the Ottoman has desolated should revive, the cities he has burned rise from their ashes, the capitation-paying rayahs, whom, in a thoughtless sacrifice of avarice to ferocity, with liberality in carnage, and a sort of convivial profusion of blood, he has slaughtered, should return to life and to the Haratch, to unrequited labour, unresented ignominy, and unresisting submission. All this would be extremely gratifying to the Sultan and his subjects, unless finding that "l'appetit vient en mangeant," they wish for another Scio, a second feast of death. For the Greeks, even this would be better than their present state, or their future prospects; but can it be? can all that is cold and lifeless breathe and bloom again? Can living radiance beam from under all the cold, yet veined and alabaster lids,

"That veil—thought shrinks from all that lurks beneath?"—

Can all the gallant hearts that the cause of freedom made

"To beat but once, and be for ever still,"

be taught to beat again? Many years must elapse before even nature can revive; and the blue sky will long spread its splendid canopy, and the sun pour his glorious beams in vain upon a land blighted and clad in mourning. Nothing will remain but the recollection, that the English government had neither the right to interpose, nor the will to intercede; and that the English public saw the last survivors of the Grecian name gallantly fall in the defence of freedom, without throwing them even the empty comfort of commiseration.

The Turks have only a choice of evils, and I propose to them the least; but it will be said; The Greeks may still submit.—Can they hope to be forgiven? Can men, who, for eighteen months have been tearing each other to pieces like wild beasts, drop off into a slumber of careless confiding tyranny on the one hand, and mute motionless slavery on the other? *Either the Greek and Turkish populations must be separated, or one of them destroyed.*

But suppose the subsistence of Constantinople, and consequently the European existence of the

Sublime Porte, to depend on the forbearance of Europe. On what else does it now depend? On what else has it depended for half a century? The mutual jealousy of other powers has long supported it in this leaning attitude, and the present state of political feeling implies no increased disposition to overthrow it. Neither would Turkey necessarily fall from being shorn of her frontier provinces. The throne of Constantine survived for centuries, when its sway no longer reached even the boundaries of Rumelia, and after the Sultan, a more encroaching foe than Alexander, and armed with all the resources of Asia Minor, had fixed his seat of empire at Adrianople.

For the transdanubian principalities, unconditional union and amalgamation with Russia are more desirable even than independence. Freedom must be *planted*, and cannot be *erected* on the model of some neighbouring edifice; but the young and tender tree of liberty, unfenced as it at first must be, would find Wallachia a site peculiarly unfavourable, from the political tempests that pour as fiercely as those of nature from the Crapac; and a soil more unpropitious still, a mass of moral as well as material alluviation, sure to infect it with a morbid rankness.

But passing over the old theory of the responsibility of monarchs, and supposing all European countries, (for, I question whether the Arabs, or the Hottentots, or the Esquimaux, would admit such a doctrine) to be the estates, and the several nations now permitted to graze over them at so many kreutzers, pauls, or roubles a head, the herds of all the Sovereigns, who doze or fidget on their seats of honour, I contend that the Verona vestry, about to meet on European parochial business, should permit the owner of Turkey to transfer to the owner of Russia his manorial rights, quit-rents, and heriots, over the out-lying farms of Moldavia and Wallachia, inasmuch as the said rights do these farms 100*l*'s. worth of harm, for every guinea that the Constantinopolitan squire receives.

But it may be said, that I am only deferring the settling day between the Porte and Russia.

After the Greeks are freed, and the principalities ceded, one of two things must in the course of the present century occur: either the mouldering corruption of Turkey will proceed, till political sores, that fester instead of healing, have produced a final mortification, and the European empire of Othman expires like a candle which has been suffered to burn down into the socket; and thus the

object of all our wishes is attained without either misery or effort: or, the Turks, having reached that point of political degradation beyond which there is no further sinking, will take the infection of civilization from the north and south, and catch the improvements from which a sanitary cordon of prejudices has as yet preserved them. If this occurred, I would not advocate, nor even desire the sentence of their banishment executed at the price of endless individual suffering, though they still wrote from right to left, and still wore turbans instead of hats; nay, to quit a tone of levity which is unsuited to the subject, not though they continued to exalt an impostor above the Son of God. Convinced as I am, that the mere temporal blessings, by which Christianity has elevated Europe above the rest of the world, and England above the rest of Europe, ought to recommend it by its political utility to those who are so unfortunate as to doubt its truth; and that the evidence of its divinity is sufficient to satisfy the sceptic, without an appeal to its effects; mainly attributing, as I do, the barbarism of Asia and Africa to the fatal influence of Mahometanism, still I must protest against the doctrine of expatriating nations for their religious errors. Such a principle once admitted, there is

no limit to its consequences; for Christianity, unhappily, still enlightens but a minority of the human race. That nation, which reared the noblest fabrics of verse and architecture, was unable, by the utmost stretch of unaided human intellect, to erect even a *rational* system of belief; and when we see, or, as Englishmen, when we happily only hear, how the passions and interests of men have elsewhere corrupted even the purity of the Christian faith; when we perceive how completely the evidence of our missionaries has refuted the philosophers who eulogized the dogmas of Confusius or Brama; when it is thus proved that *every* religion but the true one is more or less morally and politically mischievous, it follows, that if once the wickedness of a creed is held to justify an attack upon its votaries, from that moment three quarters of the human race are outlawed, and may be hunted down, and plundered with impunity. I trust we shall hear no more, at least not in the Grecian cause, of this summary mode of arraigning, convicting, sentencing, and leading off to perpetual exile, men guilty of being buried from their birth in that worst darkness, the darkness of the soul. For the life to come religion is happily matter of fact, but in *this* it is a mere question of opinion; and the Turks have pre-

cisely the same right to indite us for adhering to Christianity, that we have to prosecute them for persisting in Islamism. The present age has been distinguished by bloodless conflicts with the powers of darkness; they are perhaps the most honourable of our national efforts, but our weapon must still be the press and not the sword.

But is the banishment of the Turks even politically necessary to the Greeks? and is there not room for both? Because they cannot live together in the same village, or even canton, must the Ægean and the Euxine for ever roll between them? Is the country overpeopled? The vices rather than the virtues of the Turks convince me, that from oppressive masters they may become inoffensive neighbours. Will they ever be again an enterprising, active people, or reconquer from the invigorated Greeks that country, which all its natural fastnesses and added forts could not, in hands like theirs, defend from disunited, unofficered, and almost unarmed assailants? Will not the chain from Pindus to Olympus form a good granite bolster between two nations who cannot live together in domestic quiet? Let the Turks relapse into their usual mixture of anarchy and apathy; let the Greeks have five years' possession of the country, and

with every doubt of their expelling, I have none of their keeping out their tyrants. As neighbours they will *suit*, from the *opposition* of their tastes and interests; the Turks no more clashing with the Greek ventures to Marseilles, than the Greeks with the Turkish pilgrimages to Mecca. The Turks will avail themselves of industrious neighbours, and the Greeks of unenlightened customers; and whatever change occurs must be for the advantage of the latter. Peace is necessary to educate infant Greece, and war is the one thing likely to revive the slumbering genius of Mahometanism. Let Russia pause before she wakes that torpid savage; I have no doubt of the result between a barbarous and a semi-barbarous power, but the scale of conflict will be gigantic, and far above the value of the prize. Russia is civilized enough to possess statesmen, and generals, and engineers, and her population is still sufficiently savage, to make what is elsewhere a proscription be but a permission; but the Mahometan powers beat her in fanaticism, and they are still a family, though a family of divided brothers.

Much more might be added on the Greek revolution; but, having endeavoured to put their cause in a fair point of view, I shall proceed to the ob-

ject for which I took up my pen. Next winter the Greeks will be visited by all the horrors of famine, for the dreadful struggle in which they have been engaged, has prevented their tilling the land. The picture of Irish famine which has been lately presented to us faintly images to the mind what the Greeks will undergo, for theirs will be universal not partial distress; and there are no sympathizing fellow countrymen to relieve them.

Their wounded and their sick are already in the most pitiable state, for though they have many national physicians and surgeons, they are without medicines and surgical instruments, or the means of procuring them.

It is under these circumstances, and only in the event of the distress in Ireland being removed by the approaching potatoe crop, that I venture to suggest to the English public the propriety of a subscription for furnishing the Greek sufferers with food and medicines. I do not urge its being employed in the purchase of arms; even if their exportation was legal, many conscientious persons might scruple to put them into the hands of men, who may abuse as well as use them. When I remember how severely, during the late war, the English minister was blamed for stopping the sale of medicines to France, I cannot suppose that we

ever shall see an order in council prohibiting the purchase of corn for the starving, or the exportation of bark and lint to save the sick and wounded.

I can anticipate no objection to *such* a subscription. It does not compromise our government; it need not take any money out of the country, for the medicines and surgical instruments might be purchased in England, and the foreign corn bonded in our ports, and hanging *in terrorem* over our farmers, might be bought and transported to Greece. If opportunities offered, a part of this money might redeem Greek captives, and would even then return to England, by the back stream of commerce; but I will not insult any reader by supposing that he would grudge some thousands abstracted from our morbid abundance of capital, when a few shillings are at this moment sufficient to save a fellow-creature from dishonour and apostacy, from servitude embittered by previous refinement and remembered happiness, from the loss of the dearest relatives, aggravated by the peculiarly domestic habits of Greek women and children. What is African slavery, when contrasted with such sorrows as these? Where are the prior claims on our purses? This nation was said to be beggared, and it has just spared a quarter of a million in charity out of the income of the year.

It is not likely that Providence will again inflict famine on Ireland, or that any unusual appeal will be made to our humanity, during the year to come. Where else will money *tell* so well in preventing misery? When will such an occasion recur? Next winter fixes the fate of Greece. By this day year our aid will be too late. The Greeks will no longer want it; they will be sure of success, or their skeletons, scattered over the country in whose defence they fell, will need neither food nor sympathy. The Catholic Pères de la Redemption spent their means and their lives in delivering captives, and we have not yet given a guinea. When we abolished the slave trade, we sacrificed avarice and prejudice at the altar of mercy, and we have not yet *talked* of relieving the Greeks. Unless all feeling is paralyzed, and numbness has crept over our souls, this disgraceful apathy must end; but it may last till we have earned disgrace, which regret will not wash away; and have given the foreigners who, envy and hate our pre-eminence, the triumph of seeing all that they calumniously said of our mercantile selfishness miraculously verified.

The cause of the Greeks is unconnected with the spirit of revolution in Europe (26). They are not

fighting for a quantum of political freedom, but for that national independence, which is become, synonymous with individual existence.

They cannot now be subdued without being destroyed; and the question is, *how soon the conflict shall end, and how many of either party shall survive it.* I do not ask compassion, the *active* compassion not of words, but money, because they are Greeks, or patriots, or Christians; but because they are men, menaced at once with slaughter, disease, and famine (27). Their antagonists have a government to apply to, and countrymen who will relieve them, for with all their errors the doctrines of Mahomet render Mussulmans charitable towards each other. The Greeks have no earthly prospect of gratuitous and disinterested aid, but from the English public; for if *we*, to whom Providence has given the means, have lost, what we had, the taste for charity, where shall the unfortunate look for succour?

Deputies are daily expected from Greece, and though they may fail of persuading our Government to intercede in their favour, I trust their arrival will elicit some symptoms of interest which may encourage the Greeks in the pursuit of that freedom, which like the Swiss and the Dutch they must purchase with their own exertions.

NOTES.

(1) At the time of Cromwell's Irish campaign, the Ottoman power was in its full vigour, and from thence advanced in the gradation of the capture of the Venetian islands in the Archipelago, the defeat of the Austrians in 1663, and the conquest of Candia in 1669, to that acmé of their triumphs, the siege of Vienna, which was saved by *Poland* in 1683: of course *not* that Poland from whom Austria sliced off her provincial kingdom of Galitzia. The power of Mahomet the IVth was to the barbarous anarchy of Ireland in 1649, about what the power of George the IVth is to Turkey in 1822.

(2) I find in an old college exercise of my own, a passage which may enforce my arguments; and while I fancy that all the post-horses I see are whirling away customers from my publisher, and proselytes from my cause, to some bower impervious to politics and pity, and that I have not a moment to lose in getting my "Thoughts" into the hands at least, if not the heads, of the few fugitives whom I may shoot flying, I avail myself of the following paragraph, to pacify a Compositor who is clamouring for notes, promised but not provided, and to rebut the charges against the Greeks:

"Those who, while they own that bondsmen should be freed, pronounce that Greece is too much wasted by a

national atrophy to be thus revived, should, before they pass a sentence of worse than death upon an entire people, inquire if all the charges which have been brought against the Greeks are true.

They are said, when advanced to office, to *pillage their fellow rayahs;* but the power which they abuse is sold them by the Turks, who set a price on every office, from the sceptre of Bukorest to an Archon's wand; *and in all countries,* those who purchase political power *will* reimburse themselves by plunder or peculation.

They are called *intriguing:* that which in minor objects is stigmatized as *low intrigue,* becomes in mightier schemes a *dignified ambition.* The activity with which cabals are prosecuted for an archon's chair, only proves that the Greeks *could* take an interest in the politics of their country, that the germs of generous ambition exist, and only need the fostering warmth of freedom to swell into maturity, branch out into grandeur, and rich in all the fruits of happiness and virtue, form at once the ornament and shelter of the land.

The Greeks are reproached as *frivolous;* what have they else than trifles, on which to waste that vividness of feeling, that keenness of perception, that luxuriance of fancy, which form the ground-work of the charge? Will the Porte enrol them in her armies? Is there much temptation to be a politician under the terrors of an armed despotism? Or an author where printing is unknown? Or a merchant where wealth and confiscation are but the cause and the effect? Yet we reproach them because they are no longer poets, generals, and statesmen.

Can a Greek, though he had the virtues of an Aristides and the talents of a Pericles, be any thing but a wretched slave? Is he not fortunate in being able to interest himself about nothings; to fly, though but for an instant, from the restlessness of agonizing reflection, and draw a volun-

tary delirium from the animation of childish merriment? *Never* let us confound misfortune with guilt, nor call what is but a calamity a crime.

The Greeks are accused of being *false:* I allow that they are not guided by scrupulous candour towards masters who have always oppressed, and allies who have uniformly deserted them; and that they seek to parry the blows of power by the only weapon which is left them, dissimulation; tyranny invariably necessitates deceit, and self-defence extenuates falsehood.

They are stigmatized with *cowardice:* I grant that an unarmed and helpless village crouches beneath the cannon of a Turkish fort; that a thinly-scattered population flies before a Turkish army; that a wretched islet awaits in silent terror the annual rapine of the Pasha's fleet. But does this prove the cowardice of the conquered, or only the conqueror's might? That seeming slumber of submission is but the torpor of combined despair and helplessness; the Genius of Greece is shackled in every limb, an effort, though but of suffering nature, a convulsion of pain, or even a sob of agony would only rouse his torturers; he must at once burst every fetter, or his struggles will only rivet all their links."

(3) Those who fancy that a Greek is an amphibious monster, half European and half Asiatic, will be surprised at hearing, that there are in London, at this moment, the following respectable Greek merchants; Eustratius Rallis, Mavrogordatus, Alexander Contostavlos, Phrankiadis, and Negrepontis; and either in London or Cambridge they may satisfy themselves, that Messrs. Schinas, Maniakis, and Pappinicotas are men arrayed like ourselves, in coats breeches and waistcoats, and whose manners and information would not disgrace the first European society.

(4) There were between three and four hundred Greek students in Germany, and between five and six hundred in Italy. A still greater number was expected to resort to a university, about to be founded in Ithaca by the Ionian Government, which had already appointed, as chancellor, the Earl of Guilford, whose unostentatious and almost subterraneous efforts to enrich the Greek character with "knowledge which is power" have for many years made him the link of benevolence between Greece and England.

(5) Capodistrias, Sturdzas, Negris, Crutas, Neranzis, Mustoxidis, Persianis, &c., with many naval officers, served in Russia, a few in Austria, and there were once many in the imperial armies of France. But the prosperity of the Greeks, who bought promotion by perpetual expatriation, no more excuses the Turks, than the honours to which Irishmen rose in every European service but our own, blotted out the disgrace of those laws which we have abolished. Let me add, that the Greeks, whom oppression had driven to exile, were ever distinguished for loving and serving the country they had been forced to leave, and that the noblest names of modern Greece are her benefactors, Demetrius Mouruzis, the patriarch Gregorius, and the brothers Zosimas.

(6) Nicolaus Mavrommatus at Bologna, Dalla Decima and Spiridion Pappadopulus at Padua; and Pavia once boasted among its professors the name of UGO FOSCOLO.

(7) That I may not unfairly darken the picture by letting the reader suppose that the rest of these women have been starved, I must explain, that they have been distributed over the rest of Greece.

(8) The houses of Galatis, of Scartikiotis, and of Zographos, are among the first at Trieste; and even at Vienna, Ralli and the brothers Vlasti are considerable merchants.

(9) The sacred band, composed of 500 young Greeks, who had left the Universities of Germany to join their insurgent countrymen, was, like its ancient namesake, cut in pieces by the enemy, gallantly fighting till not a man survived.

(10) The following are some of the Greek Literati of the day:—

Eugenius Vulgaris, Nicephorus Theotokis, Constantinus Karaioannis, Balanus of Joannina, Athanasius of Paros, Joseph the Mœsodacian, Neophytus the Kapsokalivitis, Georgius Sakellariu, Daniel Philippidis, Athanasius Psallidis, Demetrius Darvazis, Athanasius Christopulus, Constantinus Kokkinakis, Constantinus Kumas, Lamprus Photiadis, Anastasius Georgiadis, Adamantinus Korays, Neophytus Ducas, Anthimus Gazi, Kaora, Daniel Philipidi, and Koletti, Secretary to the Congress.

(11) I do not speak of Tuscany, whose government is by no means oppressive; a very small part of the revenues of the Grand Duke being derived from any mode of taxation.

(12) *e. g.* "The Parliament on the contrary, *even when* "*unprovoked*, had ever menaced the Papists with the most "rigid restraint, if not a total extirpation."—HUME, vol. vii. 8vo. Ed., 1820, p. 161.

"The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge."—Ibid. 171.

(13) *e. g.* The subscription by the Greeks at Misolonghi for the widows and children of the Turks; and the capitula-

tion of Corinth, after the slaughter committed by the Turks at Cassandra.

(14) *Je me cite encore.* "Writers, whose opinions on the present character and destiny of the Greeks have widely differed, concur in admitting both the reality and the intensity of their sufferings. They describe a degree of national debasement, an extent of individual misery, unequalled in the annals of despotism; insults to which the ordinary humiliations of conquered empires are trifles; tyranny, compared with which ravage is protection, and destruction mercy. They depict *not* the transient excesses of an irritated victor, *not* a short-lived burst of havoc; but tyranny perseveringly clinging to its victim, and which ages have been unable to appease. *For a Greek*, industry is a crime, and nature's own exuberance a curse, wealth is only a title to spoliation, and beauty but a passport to dishonour.

(15) "*Fatalism*, that poisonous theory, which numbs each keener feeling of the heart, which deadens every loftier aspiration of the soul, which denounces exertion and proscribes hope, which strips virtue of half its beauty, and vice of all its hideousness, which soothes the salutary pangs of conscience, which forbids the good to resist temptation, and the bad to cherish repentance."

(16) The viziers are officers of the first rank in Turkey, and the six first viziers composed the Divan, till Sultan Selim substituted the twelve first officers of state, the Grand Vizier, and the Mufti, (or Shaikislam, chosen from the Kadileskers of Romania), being "the president of the council."

Viziers are Pashas with three tails, Mirimiramis those with two. We associate something ridiculous with the word,

tails; but the symbol of a pasha, three long tufts of horse-hair, floating from a staff with a cross-bar, like that of the Roman manipular standard, is very splendid and imposing. Even those curious regimental colours, the kettles of an Oda, have as martial an appearance to the Turks as the legionary eagles to the French. Habit is with us omnipotent; but a savage would perhaps decorate the Lord Chancellor with a shakos, and macassar'd mustachios, and a young lancer with a full bottomed wig, convinced that the whiskers gave a look of wisdom, and the wig an air of prowess. Indeed, this apparent inversion has been already practised; the Eastern sages wear *beards*, the cousins-german of *whiskers*, and the *only* uniform of the Tombuctoo body-guards, is said to be second-hand *wigs*, imported from England, and graduated, from the scratch to the cauliflower, by the wearer's rank; the African army-clothier, in the event of a brevet, depending on our first scholar's museum.

Such a quicksand is the domain of dress, that the time may come, when beauties will "never miss a tie," and clerical *shovel hats* be supplanted by *coalscuttle bonnets*.

(17) "David and Roderic, brothers to Lewellyn, dispossessed of their inheritance by that Prince, had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of Edward, and they seconded with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to enslave their native country."—HUME, vol. iii. p. 105, ed. 1793.

"——— the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring Bashaw, ... neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged . . . . . could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels . . . . . In the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend

of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force."—GIBBON, vol. xii. p. 248.

(18) Our nearest approach to it is the vulgar but eloquent imprecation, "May you marry the devil's daughter, and may the old folks come and live with you."

(19) Let my haste excuse my again putting up with a passage at hand to explain why the spoiler is odious, and the victim wretched, and a harem far different from the bright descriptions of Moore or Byron:

"For *him* who clouds the very dawn of youth and hope, and sapping all the principles of filial duty breaks every fetter of domestic love, and blights the paradise of the fond father or confiding husband, *even for him* some palliation may be found. He may plead the omnipotence of beauty, the delirium of passion; the chains of guilt may look like wreathes of roses, and the very final triumph of seduction seem but the dedication of an already devoted heart. The eloquence of pleading passion, and the charms of yielding beauty may throw a sheltering veil on the deformity of lust. But can we pardon *him*, who owes his triumph not to responsive fondness, but unresisting helplessness; who buys a victim that he never saw, or calculates the pangs of poverty, only to purchase the sorrows of a father, and make him an accomplice in the ruin of his child? Can sophistry protect the savage selfishness of vice? Will libertinism extend indulgence to triumph undeserved, and unparticipated passion? Will it dare to ridicule the agony of weeping parents, the breaking of the plighted hearts that part, the sorrows of deserted homes, the solitude of helpless age? Poets may call the harem the paradise of pleasure, or the guarded sanctuary of love, but it is the dungeon of despair, the altar whose offerings are a living death. Can such voluptuous and secluded

calm shed o'er the heart that coldness, which the sacred cloister and all the majesty of pealing choirs have sometimes failed to breathe? And should awakened love *give* all that despots *seize*, but cannot *win*, the master's glance is fate, and his decision death; a watery grave, a midnight noiseless execution. Often does the stranger, wandering by these guarded bowers of pleasure,

> " Hear nightly plunged amid the silent wave
> " The frequent corse."

(20) Age and disease have tamed the savage into a surly repose; and his next struggle will be the last gasp of expiring tyranny. But will Greece be freed? Monarchs have learned the art of encroachment, and the impunity of spoliation. Poland has been partitioned, Saxony dismembered, Venice and Genoa transferred; many states have been shorn of offending corners and prominences, and rounded or squared by royal geographers, disinterestedly anxious to beautify the map by making its colouring more uniform and compact. Are the kindred eagles yet satiated with prey, or wearied by flight? Is the Austrian vulture gorged with the carcase of the winged lion, that quarry which was struck down and contemptuously thrown her?"

(21) Lady Handy in Speed the Plough: " I believe I was *rather* married to him many years ago."

(22) Several officers bear the title of *Vornik*, which is a judge, a treasurer, or a collector, as it is coupled. *Logothetts* are clerks; *Clutshear*, a keeper or serjeant at arms; *Medelaitsher*, secretary to the nospodar; *Tchiaoux's* are officers in the Janizzaries of three kinds, something like captains and lieutenants; *Tchocodars* are couriers and purveyors.

(23) At the breaking out of the revolution, Michael in Moldavia, and Alexander in Wallachia, one from each of these branches, were hospodars.

(24) These are the words of the Hatee Hoomayoom, or Proclamation.

(25) The Sokotelniki are peasants privileged from the capitation tax.

The Vamma, is, the customs, the vinaritt a tax on wine. The Loods are 18,000 *messes* of from five to ten individuals, into which the Wallachian population is divided for taxing.

Logothetts, are clerks; Caminars, excise-officers; the Medilnitsher is the Hospodar's secretary.

(26) The *Turks* have not been an inundation that at last subsides, and fertilizes what it had overwhelmed, but a fiery torrent that devours wherever it settles. *They* have never redeemed conquest by a Roman spirit of civilization, and the Greeks have never lost that right to rebel, which no power can abrogate, no compact annul, and no sophistry weaken; which neither the oppressor can destroy, nor the oppressed renounce, and which no length of submission can render obsolete, while Nature's own law declares "*nullum tempus libertati occurrit.*"

I have not alluded to *ancient* Greece, because,—"Liberty in excess is poisonous, not healthful; and we must not confound splendour with happiness. Ancient Greece was fertile in great characters, for they ever swarm in times of turbulence and guilt. When we look through a vista of two thousand years upon events long past, the horizon may seem to beam with softened splendour; but could we retrograde to that period, we should rather writhe beneath intense heat, than gaze on the brilliant light.

The convulsions, which give history half its beauty and animation, shed misery on the life of man, and it is better

to be a reader of Athenian history than a citizen of Athens.

The French Revolution is the only parallel to the wild and guilty career of all the Greek Republics: but the one was the paroxysm of a transient fever, the other a constitutional disease; the one the delirium of a moment, the other the perverted feelings of an entire life.

Do we wish to see revived the social institutions of Lycurgus? To see a legislator struggling to make man joyless and illiterate! To see life stripped of all its innocent enjoyments, and every power of the mind destroyed by a moral suicide?

It is not desirable to revive the institutions of ancient slavery; it is not even practicable. In order to qualify the mass of citizens by leisure and education to be their own governors, we must revive in its fullest extent the system of domestic slavery."

(27) If any one here can be severe on their foibles, when he gazes every day on the radiant intellect, the various but concentrated beams, that shine from every page of their fathers; when he hears every day that musical language which blends sweetness with variety of sound, exuberance with brevity, and comprehensiveness with precision; I implore him by all their fathers have taught us, by the wrongs of ages, and the sufferings of millions, by the sickness of hope deferred or disappointed still, to *pity* rather than *condemn*: may I not amidst the splendour of worship around me, invoke even the name of Him, whose temples have been overthrown, whose votaries have been slaughtered? May I not, in the very sanctuary of prayer, pray that the God of mercy may soon pity the wretched, the God of justice deliver the oppressed?"

To explain the allusions in this passage, I must add that it was part of a declamation, spoken in the October term of 1816, in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge.

All the under-graduates in succession "declaim" in pairs, on the opposite sides of a subject which is left to their choice. I am not silly enough to rest my argument on a declamation, necessarily rhetorical and exaggerated. But I was perplexed with all the papers that have subsided at length into this little pamphlet, like the massive materials that melt into a pint of scientific soup, or the gigantic genii, who wound himself in wreaths of smoke into a bottle; and I was glad to use materials ready hewn to my hand, at the risk of their looking like old rubbish to fill chinks. Fearfully are they altered by these naked lines of pica, from what they looked in the sheltering drapery of pothooks, though I have not spared the Procrustean barbarism of curtailing these children of my youth.

Arguments should, like vines, be strip't of their foliage, till they are all stalk and fruit, and a pamphlet especially must be a knotted stumpy crab cudgel, so I do not pretend to hit with these splints of lath decked with flowers; but many people like words worked into filagree better than when wrought into weapons, and prefer chased gold to hammered iron.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Northumberland-court.

00027272

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 03 December, 2015